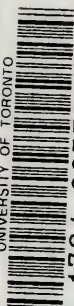


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CÁIN ADAMNÁIN

AN OLD-IRISH TREATISE ON THE
LAW OF ADAMNAN

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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Do Adamnán Iæ
asa tóidlech tóiden
ro ír Ísu úasal
sóirad mbúan ban nGóidel.

Féilire Óingusso, Sept. 23.



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND

FREDERICK YORK POWELL

THE ARDENT CHAMPION OF IRISH LEARNING

I INSCRIBE

THIS LITTLE BOOK

A pháirt dom ní áirmhim ná a aoibhe,
gé fuair mé 'na mhéin tar mhíltibh,
a éagmais ghnáth, a ghrádh 's a dhíoghrais,
a chion 's a chogar, a chomann 's a chaoine.

SEATHRÚN CÉTTINN.



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CÁIN ADAMNÁIN

AN OLD-IRISH TREATISE ON THE LAW
OF ADAMNAN

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
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PREFACE

THE following work has been edited from the only two MSS. in which, so far as I am aware, it has come down to us.

The first and more ancient of these is to be found in Rawlinson B. 512, a well-known and often described codex of the Bodleian Library. It begins at the top of fo. 45a 1 and ends abruptly and imperfectly on fo. 51b 1, where it is immediately followed by a poem¹ on the maledictive psalms selected by Adamnan. This copy, which I call *R*, forms part of a separate layer of eleven sheets of thick vellum from fo. 31-52, and seems to me to have been written in the fifteenth century. The scribe does not state his name nor whence he derived his copy.

The second MS. employed in forming the text of the present work is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, where it is numbered 2324-40 (pp. 76a-85b). It is a copy made in the year 1627 by Michael O'Clery from a MS. written by his cousin Cú-mumhan mac Tuathail í Cléirig². This copy, which I call *B*, is ultimately derived from a MS. of the monastery of Raphoe; for the title in *B* runs thus on p. 76a: *Incipit Cain Adamnain ar slict senlibuir Rath a Bothæ*.

There can be no doubt that this 'old book of Raphoe' was also the source from which *R* has finally sprung. For though *R* and *B* are not absolutely identical³, their common origin is betrayed by certain curious spellings and mistakes which all the successive scribes have faithfully preserved. Of these it will suffice to mention a few. In § 8 both MSS. have the faulty *Ronat* instead of *Ronnat*; in the same paragraph both have the unusual spelling *boedh* for *báid*; again, in § 35 the mistake *noert* for *neort* has been preserved by both. In § 39 both write *atroible* for *atroilli*, and in § 38 *caicin* for *caingin*.

The Book of Raphoe seems to have been a collection of documents relating to Adamnan; for Michael O'Clery's copy of the *Canons of*

¹ Printed in *Hibernica Minora*, p. 44.

² See the colophon printed infra, p. 32.

³ Apart from minor discrepancies I may mention the different arrangement of §§ 4 and 5, and the omission of the *Sententia angeli* (§ 33) in *B*.

Adamnan contained in the same Brussels MS. is also derived from it¹. Whenever the Book of Raphoe was compiled, there can be no doubt that our text was originally composed during the old-Irish period, probably in the ninth century. This is evident from the language in which the deponent, the s-subjunctive, the particle *ro* in its various functions, and the neuter are still in full force.

The treatise itself is a document of historical importance requiring careful study and analysis. It was my intention to deal fully in an introduction with the question of its composition, and to point out its value for the history of early Irish civilization, as well as for that of the Celtic Church at the important period of its transition to Rome. But a protracted illness and an enforced absence from home and books render this fascinating task impossible for the present; while the bulk of the book has been in print so long that I must no longer delay its publication. I will only mention that the treatise is evidently pieced together from different sources, among which the list of abbots, bishops, and kings (§ 28) is a most valuable historical document independent of the Annals. It will be noticed that it contains the names of the chief members of the Romanizing party among the Gaelic clergy of Ireland and Scotland, such as Aed of Sletty, Muirchu maccu Machthéne, Flann Febla, bishop Curetan, and also includes bishop Ecgerect, the representative of the Anglo-Roman party. The date of the promulgation of the 'Law of the Innocents' is given by the Annals of Ulster as 696, i.e. 697 A.D.² All the guarantors mentioned in our list, so far as we know the dates of their deaths, were alive in that year.

My best thanks are due, as so often before, to Mr. Whitley Stokes and Professor John Strachan for much valuable help kindly given, while a third friend is no longer among the living to receive my gratitude. To him who forwardred and followed the publication of this book with special interest I should have dedicated it, had he been spared. I now inscribe it to his memory.

KUNO MEYER.

UJ-TÁTRAFÜRED, HUNGARY,
August, 1904.

¹ The title runs: 'S. Adamnani Canones ar slicht senlibuir Ratha Bothæ.'

² 'Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit et dedit legem innocentium populis.'

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1. Cóic amsira ría ngein *Crīst*.i.ō Ādam co dīlinn, ō dīlinn co Abraam ¹, ō Abraam ¹ co Dūīd, ō Dūīd co broit i mBaibilōin, ō broit Babilōne ² co gein *Crīst*. Mnā ³ rouhātar i ndōeriu 7 i ndochraiti frisin rēi sin, co tānec Adamnān mac Rōnāin meic Tinne meic Āedhu meic Coluim meic Lugdach meic Shētnu meic Fergusa ⁴ meic Conuild meic Nēill.

2. Cumalach ba hainm do mnāiph co tāineg Adamnān dīa sōerad ⁵ 7 bá sí so in cumalach in ben dia claite derc hi cinn na cobla co ticeth dar a fēili. Cend ind inbir furri co roisceth bruith in lochta. Īar tiachtain dī asin pull talman sin, cainnel ⁶ cethri ferglac do tumud ⁷ dī a mulimme *nō* gereth. In cainnel sin do uhith for a dernaind co roisceth roind 7 dāil 7 dērgudh i tighib ⁸ rígh 7 ærchinnech. Nī uith cuīt don ⁹ m[n]āi sin i mbulg nach a criol ¹⁰ nach a n-ōentig ¹¹ aithigh tighi, acht a bith i n-ūarboith fri less amuig, nā tīsad airbuid ¹² de muir nā tīr dochum a airc[h]indich.

3. In ben ba dech de mnāiph, ba sí opair dogniūd, techt ar cenn catha 7 cathrōi, dāil 7 dūnaid, fechta 7 slōgaid, gonae ¹³ 7 airligh. A tiagh ¹⁴ looin for indara tāib dī, al-lenbān for in tōib n-ailiu. A fīdcheis fria hais. Trīcha traigeth ina hairdī ¹⁵. Corrān iaroinn ¹⁶ for indara cinn dī, conidh edh doberedh ar trilis ¹⁷ na bandscāile aili assin cad ¹⁸ n-araile. A fer inna dīaidh; cūaille airbed ¹⁹ inna lāim oc a sroigled ²⁰ ar cenn catha. Ar ba cenn mnaa *nō* dā ciich noberthe i tasilbhath in tan sin ²¹.

¹ Abraham *B.* ² Babilioine *B.* ³ *sic B.*, mnau *R.* ⁴ meic Fergusa *om. R.*
⁵ soerath *B.* ⁶ *sic B.*, cainnil *R.* ⁷ tuma *B.* ⁸ tighib *B.*, toig[h]ib *R.*
⁹ dīn *B.* ¹⁰ clīor *R.* ¹¹ aēntigh *B.*, oentaig *R.* ¹² tīsat arbaith *B.* ¹³ *sic B.*,
guin *R.* ¹⁴ tech *B.* ¹⁵ airde *B.* ¹⁶ iarnaidiu *B.* ¹⁷ thrilis *R.*
¹⁸ cath *B.* ¹⁹ airbheth *B.* ²⁰ *sic B.*, srobhlugha *R.* ²¹ co rosoer Adamnan *add. B.*

1. Five ages before the birth of Christ, to wit, from Adam to the Flood, from the Flood to Abraham, from Abraham to David, from David to the Captivity in Babylon, from the Babylonian Captivity to the birth of Christ. During that time women were in bondage and in slavery, until Adamnan, son of Ronan, son of Tinne, son of Aed, son of Colum, son of Lugaid, son of Setne, son of Fergus, son of Conall, son of Niall, came.

2. *Cumalach*¹ was a name for women till Adamnan came to free them. And this was the *cumalach*, a woman for whom a hole was dug at the end of the door so that it came over her nakedness. The end of the great spit was placed upon her till the cooking of the portion was ended. After she had come out of that earth-pit she had to dip a candle four men's hands in length in² a plate of butter or lard; that candle to be on her palm until division of food and distribution of liquor and making of beds, in the houses of kings and chieftains, had ended. That woman had no share in bag nor in basket, nor in the company of the house-master; but she dwelt in a hut outside the enclosure, lest bane from sea or land should come to her chief.

3. The work which the best of women had to do, was to go to battle and battlefield, encounter and camping, fighting and hosting, wounding and slaying. On one side of her she would carry her bag of provisions, on the other her babe. Her wooden pole upon her back. Thirty feet long it was, and had at one end an iron hook, which she would thrust into the tress of some woman in the opposite battalion. Her husband behind her, carrying a fence-stake in his hand, and flogging her on to battle. For³ at that time it was the head of a woman, or her two breasts, which were taken as trophies.

¹ A derivative from *cumal*, 'a female slave, bondmaid.'

² Literally, 'out of.' Cf. *tumad na cainnell a geir 7 uscca in carna*, 'to dip the candles into the grease and tallow of the fleshmeat,' Laws, II. 252, 2.

³ The use of 'for' seems to imply that these trophies were to be put upon the stake which the man carried.

4¹. Iar tīachtain do Adamnān hifecta nī gatar a forgall ar² domun degmnā, mād i ngnīmaib fīraib *forsither*. Ar is [s]ruith māin māthair, maith māin māthair, māthair nōeb 7 epscop 7 fīriān, tuillem flatha nime, tustigud *talman*.

5³. Rochēs Adamnān mōr dec[h]roid dar uhar cend, a mnā, conidh lib leath for tighi 7 inadh for cathāiri isin leith ailiu, conidh sōer for cor 7 for comairchi ō ré Adamnāin, conid sí cēthāin lāither for nīm 7 for talmain do mnāib Cāin Adamnāin.

6⁴. Ba sē tosuch in scēoil. Fechtus do Adamnān⁵ 7 dia māthair oc imticht a⁶ conairi oc Āth Drochait ind-Ūaithniu i nHōib Āedho Oduha i ndescert Breg. ‘Tair for ma muin, a māthair bóidh!’ or sē-seom. ‘Ní ragh,’ or sī-si. ‘Cedh ōn? cē dāisiu?’ or sē-sim. ‘Ar nach tu-su in mac gor,’ ar sī-se. ‘Cīa is goriu⁸ indāu-su? Concbaim cris dar fochrus ocot imorchor as cech bailiu i n-alaile, ocat ergabāil fri fūal 7 fri ferad⁹. Nī fetur goiri dogneth mac dune dia māthair nā dēnuim-si duit-si, acht mād h certán dognét¹⁰ mnāi¹¹ lebor bael bach-laich oca. Húair nach drónaim¹² in certán sin, dogēntar crot binn lim-sa deit hicut erfitiud 7 iris findruine eisti.’ ‘Ced ed ōn,’ or issi, ‘ba maith do gori-se, acht noch a n-í seín mu gori-sæ, acht mnāu do hsōerad dam ar dāl, ar dūnuth, ar feght, ar slōagath, ar guín, ar erlech, ar chumalachht choire¹³.’

7. Sōethe¹⁴ sī dono¹⁵ for muin a meic, conusrála isin ārmuch. Ba sé tiget in áir innosrála, co comrictis dā bond na mnā fri mēdhui cinn¹⁶ a sēthci. Ci¹⁷ atconcatar in ārbach, nī acatar¹⁸ nī bad báidiu *nā*¹⁹ bad trōighiu lēo indā cend na mnā²⁰ for indara burt²¹ 7 colann for in burt n-ailiu²² 7 a lenbán for a ciich inna collai²³. Sruth²⁴ lomma for in dara n-ōil dō 7 sruth folæ forsinn ōil ailiu²⁵.

¹ *B* places this paragraph after § 21.

² for *nō* ar *B*.

³ *B* omits this paragraph.

But cf. the end of § 21.

⁴ Here begins cap. 2 in *B*.

⁵ d'Adamnan *B*.

⁶ na *B*.

⁷ cid taisiu *B*.

⁸ as goriu *B*, gorium *R*.

⁹ ferath *B*.

¹⁰ dogniat *B*.

¹¹ sic *B*,

mnau *R*.

¹² nat ronaim *B*.

¹³ cumhulaght coire *B*, chore *R*.

¹⁴ soete *B*.

¹⁵ dono *B*, dó *R*.

¹⁶ chinn *R*.

¹⁷ cid *B*.

¹⁸ facatar *B*.

¹⁹ no *B*.

²⁰ na

mná *om. R*.

²¹ port *B*.

²² bpurt aile *B*.

²³ inna collæ *B*, ina *R*.

²⁴ srudh *R*.

²⁵ naile *B*.

4. Now after the coming of Adamnan no woman is deprived of her testimony¹, if it be bound in righteous deeds. For a mother is a venerable treasure, a mother is a goodly treasure, the mother of saints and bishops and righteous men, an increase of the Kingdom of Heaven, a propagation on earth.

5. Adamnan suffered much hardship for your sake, O women, so that ever since Adamnan's time one half of your house is yours, and there is a place for your chair in the other half; so that your contract and your safeguard are free; and the first law made in Heaven and on earth for women is Adamnan's Law.

6. This was the beginning of the story. Once Adamnan and his mother were wending their way by Ath Drochait² in Uaithne in Ui Aido Odba in the south of Bregia. 'Come upon my back, dear mother!' saith he. 'I shall not go,' saith she. 'What is this? what ails you?' saith he. 'Because you are not a dutiful son,' saith she. 'Who is more dutiful than I am? since I put a girdle over my breast, carrying you about from place to place, keeping you from dirt³ and wet. I know of no duty which a son of man could do to his mother that I do not do for you, except the humming tune which women perform . . .⁴. Because I cannot perform that tune, I will have a sweet-sounding harp made for you, to play to you, with a strap of bronze out of it.' 'Even so,' she said. 'Your dutifulness were good; however, that is not the duty I desire, but that you should free women for me from encounter, from camping, from fighting, from hosting, from wounding, from slaying, from the bondage of the caldron.'

7. Then she went⁵ upon her son's back until they chanced to come upon a battlefield. Such was the thickness of the slaughter into which they came that the soles of one woman would touch the neck of another. Though they beheld the battlefield, they saw nothing more touching or more pitiful than the head of a woman in one place and the body in another, and her little babe upon the breasts of the corpse, a stream of milk upon one of its cheeks, and a stream of blood upon the other.

¹ i. e. women are admitted as witnesses.

² 'The Ford of the Bridge,' now Drogheda. Cf. Book of Fenagh, p. 81, n. 4.

³ Literally, 'urine.'

⁴ Here the words *lebor bael bachlaich oca* are quite obscure to me.

⁵ Literally, 'she turns.'

8. 'Is bōedh 7 is trógh lim-sa suut,' ar Ron[n]at¹ māthair Adamnāin, 'aní atchīu fot cosu-su, a chlēr[c[h]ocān! Ced nachamlēci² for lār, co tartur mo chiigh dō? - Acht is cīan mór hūadh ō da[c[h]ōdar³ mo chíghi-si i ndisca. Nī foigfide nī indtib. Ced nach promæ dūn do c[h]lērchecht frisin corp trōach ucut, dūs in taithbēoighfedh⁴ in Coimdhīu erot⁵? Is dē atá in senfocul⁶: cáin cech culēn fó šaidh⁷. Sōithis⁸ Adamnān fri brēitheir a māthar, co rocōruigh⁹ in cenn frisin mēdhīu, co tarut crois día baghail¹⁰ dar ucht¹¹ na banscāili, co n-érucht in banscál súos.

9. 'Uch, a-mmo¹² Comdiu mōr na ndūlai!' or ī-si. 'Ced dobeir uch duit-siu?' ar Adhamnān. 'Mo claidbeth i n-ārmaigh 7 mo chor hi pīanaib iffirn. Nī fetur nech síu nō tall doneth bōidiu nō trōcuiríe immum aght Adamnān 7 Mairei hūag-ingen ic a¹³ gresacht a hucht muintirei nime.'

10. Et iss í banscál rotathbēogedh¹⁴ andsin fri brēthir nAdamnāin, Smirgat ingen Aedha Finn, ingen ríge Brēfne Connacht, ben ríge Lūaighne Temrach .i. mnā Ūa nAedha Odhuha 7 descirt¹⁵ Breg 7 Lūaighne Temrach, is iat condrancatur immon āth, co nā deochaid anim i comatreb a colla diib, acht dorochratar¹⁶ bond fri bond.

11. 'Maithi tra, a Adomnāin,' or sí 'hífechta is duit-siu doratath mnā iarthair domuin do hšōerath. Nī raga deog nā biad it bēolu-su co rohsōertar mnā duit.' 'Nī rubai in bēo cen biath,' ar Adomnān. 'Día n-acet mo súili-siu, rígfet mo lāmu ar a cent.' 'Sec[h] nī aicfet¹⁷ do súili-siu¹⁸ nī roisit do¹⁹ lāma.'

12²¹. Sōithi sí dono²¹ iarsin Ronnat co Brugach mac Dedad²², co tuc slabraid²³ ūadh. Focheird fó brāgait a meic fo Drochuit Suilidhi²⁴ hi Ceniul Chonuild, bale a ndernath in cottach etir a mātire 7 a athre .i. itir Cenēl nĒndai 7 Lugdach .i. cippē diib nobrised²⁵ in cottach, a adnacu bēo hi talmāin; commaid didiu²⁶ fri Adomnān²⁷ for nim

¹ Ronat B. ² nachimleici B. ³ dochodar B. ⁴ indathbeoighfedh B.
⁵ erat B, erod R. ⁶ senocalt B. ⁷ saigh B. ⁸ soitis B. ⁹ choirigh B.
¹⁰ bhachailt B. ¹¹ tar ucht B, dar a hucht R. ¹² ucha ammo B, a mo R. ¹³ hico R.
¹⁴ rotathbeoadh B. ¹⁵ deiscirt B. ¹⁶ torchratar B. ¹⁷ acfet R. ¹⁸ 7 add. R.
¹⁹ sic B, de R. ²⁰ Here begins cap. 3 in B. ²¹ soithsiu dono B, soithise dó R.
²² Dedhad B, Dega R. ²³ slaurath B. ²⁴ Drochut Suilicci B. ²⁵ nobrisfedh B, nobrisid R. ²⁶ comaidedh R, comaitiv B. ²⁷ dó add. R, an leg. dono?

8. 'That is a touching and a pitiful sight,' said Ronnat, the mother of Adamnan, 'what I see under thy feet, my good cleric¹! Why dost thou not let me down upon the ground that I may give it my breast? However, it is long since my breasts have run dry! Nothing would be found in them. Why dost thou not prove thy clerkship for us upon yon wretched body, to see whether the Lord will resuscitate it for thee?' (Hence is the ancient saw: 'Beautiful is every pup under its dam.') At the word of his mother Adamnan turned aside, adjusted the head upon the neck, and made the sign of the cross with his staff across the breast of the woman. And the woman rose up.

9. 'Alas! O my great Lord of the elements!' said she. 'What makes you say alas?' said Adamnan. 'My being put to the sword on the battlefield and thrown into the torments of Hell. I know no one here or yonder who would do a kindness or show mercy to me save Adamnan, the Virgin Mary urging him thereto on behalf of the host of Heaven.'

10. And the woman who was there resuscitated at the word of Adamnan was Smirgat daughter of Aed Finn king of the Brefni of Connaught, wife of the king of the Luaigni of Tara. For the women of the Ui Aido Odba and of the south of Bregia and of the Luaigni of Tara had met around the ford, so that not a soul of them had come away abiding in its body, but they had fallen sole to sole.

11. 'Well now, Adamnan,' said she, 'to thee henceforward it is given to free the women of the western world. Neither drink nor food shall go into thy mouth until women have been freed by thee.' 'No living creature can be without food,' said Adamnan. 'If my eyes see it, I shall stretch out my hands for it.' 'But thine eyes shall *not* see and thine hands shall *not* reach it.'

12. Then Ronnat turned aside to Brugach son of Deda and brought a chain from him, which she put around her son's neck at the Bridge of the Swilly in Tirconnell, where the covenant had been made between his mother's and his father's kindred, even between the race of Enda and that of Lugaid², to wit, that whoever of them would break the covenant should be buried alive in the earth, but he who would fulfil it was to dwell with Adamnan in Heaven. And she takes a stone

¹ *clérhocán*, a double diminutive of *clérch*.

² Enda was the eponymous ancestor of Adamnan's mother, Lugaid that of his father.

dontí nodascomailfed¹. *Ocus* fogeib² cloich diarba³ lān a ddorn frisa mbenta⁴ tene. Focherd il-leithōil a meic, conid furri búi sāsad dó etir biad 7 digh.

13. Īarsin tānec a mǵathair dia fīs hi cind ocht⁵ mīs, co n-accai a mulluch. ‘Mo maccān-sa suut’ ar sī-si ‘amail bīs ubull for tuind. Becc a greim hi talmāin, nitā itge⁶ i nim, sec[h] rolosc⁷ sál, rocacsat fōilinn na farce ’na chenn. Atchīu nī sōertha⁸ mnā bēos de⁹.’ ‘Form Coimdid¹⁰ as chōir a aithber¹¹, a mǵathair bóidh,’ ar sē-som. ‘Ar Chrīst frit, aithirigh pēin dam!’

14¹². Is ī pīan roathirriged leissi dó, 7 nī sochaide do mnāib dogēnad fria mac, a adnacu hi comrair clocha hi Rāith-Both Thīre¹³ Conaill, contótar cruma bun a tengadh, co roimidh salchur a chinn dar a chlūasaib immach. Īarsin rusfuc hi Carric¹⁴ in Culinn, co roattrib¹⁵ ocht¹⁶ mīs aile¹⁷ and.

15¹⁸. Hi ciunn ceitheora blīadan, is and tāncatar aingil Dē de nim dia acallaim. Go tūargbata (*sic*) Adomnān assa comrair clocha co Magh mBirra co coiccrīch Ūa Nēill 7 Fer Muman. ‘Ērigh sūas hifechta as t’ [f]ochlach¹⁹,’ ar aingel²⁰ fri hAdamnān. ‘Nocho n-ērus²¹,’ ar Adamnān ‘co rosōertar²² mnā dam.’ Is de sin ispert²³ in t-aingel²⁴: ‘Omnia quae a Domino rogabis propter laborem tuum habebis.’

16. ‘Nī ba frim rē-se mā dognether²⁵,’ ar Loingsech Bregbān. A Fanait cen[i]uil Conaill dō-side. ‘Olc ré i ndīgētar²⁶ sūan fir for mnāib, mnā do bet[h]ugud, fir do o[i]rluich²⁷. Geibid claideb²⁸ don bodur²⁹ amlabor atbeir acht mnā do uhith i mbithdōire co bruinne brātha.’

17. Is ēat rīg³⁰ atraachtatar annside fri brēithir Loingsich do chlaidhbed Adamnāin: Dōelguss mac Ōengusa meic Don[n]fraigh airdrī Muman, Ēlodach rī na nDēisi³¹, Cūcerca rī Osraighi³², Cellach

¹ notus comhuildfedh *B*, om. *R*. ² fogeib *B*. ³ diarbo *B*. ⁴ *sic B*, frisinbenta *R*.
⁵ *sic B*, occ *R*. ⁶ itche *B*. ⁷ roloisce *B*. ⁸ rosertha (*sic*) *B*. ⁹ mna do bheos *B*.
¹⁰ for in coimdid *B*. ¹¹ *sic B*, aithuhir *R*. ¹² *Here B begins cap. 4.*
¹³ tire *B*. ¹⁴ carruic *B*, carrich *R*. ¹⁵ co roaitribh *B*, corsattrib *R*. ¹⁶ *sic B*, och *R*.
¹⁷ naile *B*. ¹⁸ *Here B begins cap. 5.* ¹⁹ as tochlach *B*. ²⁰ aingil *R*, aingil nime *B*.
²¹ noch a n-erusa *B*. ²² rosoerthar *B*. ²³ as de atbert *B*. ²⁴ aingil *KB*.
²⁵ dognetar *B*. ²⁶ a ndingentar *B*. ²⁷ d’oirlech *B*. ²⁸ cladhebb *B*, claidhib *R*.
²⁹ bhodhur *B*, budar *R*. ³⁰ riogha *B*. ³¹ nDeisith *B*. ³² Osergiv *B*.

which filled her hand. It was used for striking fire. She puts it into one of her son's cheeks, so that in it¹ he had his fill both of food and drink.

13. Then, at the end of eight months, his mother came to visit him, and she beheld the crown of his head. 'My dear son yonder,' said she, 'is like an apple upon a wave. Little is his hold on the earth, he has no prayer in Heaven². But salt water has scorched him, the gulls of the sea have dropped filth upon his head. I see women have not yet been freed by him.' 'It is the Lord that ought to be blamed, dear mother!' said he. 'For Christ's sake, change my torture!'

14. This is the change of torture that she made for him, and not many women would do so to their sons: she buried him in a stone chest at Raphoe in Tirconnell, so that worms devoured the root of his tongue, so that the slime of his head broke forth through his ears. Thereafter she took him to Carric in Chulinn³, where he stayed another eight months.

15. At the end of four years God's angels came from Heaven to converse with him. And Adamnan was lifted out of his stone chest and taken to the plain of Birr at the confines of the Ui Neill and Munster. 'Arise now out of thy hiding-place,' said an angel⁴ to Adamnan. 'I will not arise,' said Adamnan, 'until women are freed for me.' It is then the angel said: 'Omnia quae a Domino rogabis propter laborem tuum habebis.'

16. 'It shall not be in my time if it is done,' said Loingsech Bregban, a native of Fanait he was, of the race of Conall. 'An evil time when a man's sleep shall be murdered for women, that women should live, men should be slain. Put the deaf and dumb one to the sword, who asserts anything but that women shall be in everlasting bondage to the brink of Doom.'

17. These are the kings who then arose at the word of Loingsech to put Adamnan to the sword: Doelgus son of Oengus son of Dondfraech, high-king of Munster; Elodach, king of the Deisi; Cucherca, king of Ossory; Cellach the Red, king of Leinster; Irgalach grandson of

¹ Literally, 'upon it.'

² i. e. 'his prayer is not heard in Heaven,' or 'he has no spokesman in Heaven.'

³ 'The Rock of the Holly.'

⁴ 'of Heaven' *add. B.*

Derg rí Laigen, Irgalach ūa¹ Conuing rī Breg, Brugach mac Dedad²,
 Fingin Ēoganach, di neoch robātar³ and de rígaip[h] iarthair⁴ domain.
 Nī ruc Adomnān claideb les dochum in chathai, acht clocc na fferce
 Adomnān .i. cluicīn mēsi Adomnān. Is⁵ annsin atrubart⁶ Adomnān
 na brēathra sa :

18. 'Benaime-si in cluiccīn sē i taob Letreg⁷ ar ōenlus,
 co nā hesboi Dōelgus daith in laith⁸ forrabái⁹ Ōengus.
 Gēbut-sai ma psalmu aniū¹⁰ i n-ūaim clocha¹¹, nār esclū,
 co nā esbe¹² Dælgus daith ind laith ebur co ndescdu¹³.
 Maldagt Dé for Ēlodach for flaith Feimin na nDési,
 nā rab rí nā rīgdamnai gabus ūadh dar a ēssi.
 A gilldai umail ailgein, a mic armaig na riagla,
 ben clucc ar Cellach Carmain co raib i talmain rīa
 ciunn bliadna¹⁴.

19. 'Cellach Derg rí Laigen, acht in mac fail hi mbroinn¹⁵ a mnā,
 nī fáicfe a sīl nach a sēimeth 7 cidh ēsidhe, bid meth ocus milled¹⁶ dia
 chloinn, mani bet dom rēir-si. Cēin¹⁶ bet oc ōgbail¹⁷ mo screplaigi
 frim-sa nī bīa fortamlas nacha tūaithi aili foraiḃ. Būaid n-ōcctigirinn (*sic*)
 ūaidib¹⁸ 7 būaid comruic 7 būaidh fogla. Gēbthair rīghi ūa Cellaig
 hūaidib¹⁹.

20. 'A gilldai in gascid grāduich dorocht Mastin miathaich,
 ben in cluiccīn²⁰ for Domnall, nā rup comlann a bliadain.

'Domnall mac Murchada²¹ rī Ulath, acht in mac 7 in t-athair, nī fáicfe
 a sīl²² nach a séimeth 7 ced ēad sidi, cudach berus²³ in dara n-āi, meth
 berus araili. Gataim adrīghi nUlad erru.

21. 'Ma cluicīn-siu, in fīrbredach, triasradibdad Irgalach,
 atteoch in rī[g] fīrbrethach nī rap rī ō Irgalach.

¹ u B.² Deghad B, Dedoin R.³ robai B.⁴ iartahir R.⁵ as B.⁶ adubert B.⁷ Leitrech B.⁸ flaith B.⁹ forarabha B.¹⁰ aniv B, anu R.¹¹ i n-uaim chlochda, written above i tæb tor B.¹² hesba B.¹³ condescæ B.¹⁴ ria

mblīa B.

¹⁵ sic B, broinn R.¹⁶ sic B, cen R.¹⁷ congbbail B.¹⁸ n-oigtigerna

foraiḃ nō uaidhib B.

¹⁹ gebtar rīghi B.²⁰ sic B, cloc R.²¹ Murcadha B,

Murcathai R.

²² sīl B, ssīl R.²³ beus R, cudhach berus B.

Conaing, king of Bregia ; Brugach son of Deda ; Fingin Eoganach,—these were all that were there of the kings of the western world. Adamnan took no sword with him to the battle, but the Bell of Adamnan's Wrath, to wit, the little bell of Adamnan's altar-table. It is then Adamnan spoke these words :

18. 'I strike this little bell by the side of Lettir on purpose
That dapper Doelgus may not drink the ale at which Oengus
has been ¹.

I shall sing my psalms to-day in the stone cave, may it not be
without fame!

Lest dapper Doelgus drink the ale which is drunk with dregs.

God's curse on Elodach, the chief of Femen of the Deissi,

Lest king or king's heir spring from him after him !

My humble, gentle attendant, thou armed son of the rule ²,

Strike a bell against Cellach of Carman, that he may be in the
earth before a year's end.

19. 'Cellach the Red, king of Leinster, save the son that is in his wife's womb, shall leave no seed nor issue ; and even he, there shall be decay and ruin to his offspring unless they be obedient to me. So long as they levy my groats for me, no other tribe shall prevail over them. The palm of gentlemen from them, and the palm of encounter and of spoil. The kingship of the Ui Chellaig shall descend from them.

20. 'O lad of the Church-armour ³, having come to renowned Maistiu ⁴,
Strike the little bell against Domnall, that his year may not be
full.

'Domnall, the son of Murchad, king of Ulster, save for the son and the father, shall not leave seed nor issue, and even so, a fall shall carry off one of them, decay shall carry off the other. I take the over-kingship of Ulster from them.

21. 'My little bell of true judgements by which Irgalach is made
childless,

I beseech the King of true judgements that no king descend from
Irgalach.

¹ i. e. 'that Doelgus may not enjoy the kingship of his father Oengus.' This play upon the words *flaith*, 'kingship,' and *flaith*, 'ale' (i. e. *laith*, with prothetic *f*), is common in Irish story-telling. See e. g. the tale called *Baile in Scáil*, *Zeitschrift für celt. Philologie* III, p. 460, § 9 ff.

² i. e. of the rule of the church or monastery.

³ Literally, 'of the armour of orders' (*grád*).

⁴ Now Mullaghmast.

Dīgal¹ Dé for Irgalach, nā rup for Breg firt[h]reabach²,
 nī raib clann nā cen[ē]lach³, rub derechtach dībdathach⁴.
 Clac Adomnāin fīrfertaich mór de rīghaib rofāsaig⁵,
 cech ōen fris'fera⁶ catha ōen aratha rosfāsaich.⁷

Sech rofāsaig lesu, rofāsaig rīgu o[c]⁷ cosnam ban, oc a tabairt⁸ dochum creitme⁹, conid sōer a cor 7 a comairchi ó ré Adamnāin costrasta, conid sí cēthāin lāithir for nimh 7 for talmāin Cāin Adomnāin.

22. Nī rogaib Adomnān co tarta rātha 7 gremand fris im šō[i]re ban dó. It ēat ind so na rātha hī sein: grīan 7 éscā, dūle Dē arcenæ; Petar, Pōl, Andreas 7 reliqui apostoli; Grigoir, in dā Patraic, in dā Chīarān, in dā Chrōnān, na ceithri Fintāin, Mobíu, Mobí, Momáedóc¹⁰, Munnu, Scothīne, Senán, Fēchīne, Dūilech, Cairnech, Cīanān¹¹, Cartach, Uictor, epscop Cuiritán, Mōeldub epscop, Ionān mac Samāin, Foelán abb Imlecha Ibair, Cillīne abb Lothrai, Colmān mac Sechnusaig, Eochaid app Clūana Ūamai, dā Finnēn, mac Labartha Lāin.

23. Doratsat na rāthai sin tēora gāire mallacht for cech ferscāl¹² nomuirbfeth mnái a deis¹³ nā clí ná lū nā tengaid¹⁴, comad hē a comarbpa trom 7 nenaid¹⁵ 7 traghnae. Daratsat na rāthæ cētna tēora gāire bendagtan for cech banscāil dogēnath ní ar muntir nAdamnān, cīamad meinic tīstais a minda. Ech cech raithe dia mindaib don comarba corice in fothracud hi Rāid-Both, acht as ō rīghnaib sein namā, co cumunc¹⁶ cea ha mnā chena.

24. Atrubratar mnā 7 dorairggerset¹⁷ co tibritis¹⁸ leth a treabthai do Adamnān ar a taphairt assin dōire 7 asin dochraití hi raphātar.

¹ dīghail *B.* ² fīrbrethach *B.* ³ geinelach *B.* ⁴ delectet dībdadhach *B.*, delecttech dībdathag *R.* ⁵ rofasaigh *B.*, roasaig *R.* ⁶ frisfer *B.* ⁷ ag *B.* ⁸ oga ttabairt *B.*

⁹ Here follows in *B* ar tiachtain do Adamnan afehta &c. See § 4 above.

¹⁰ Momedóc *R.* ¹¹ Ciaran *B.* ¹² fersgail *B.* ¹³ des *B.* ¹⁴ tengæ *B.*

¹⁵ nenaigh *R.*, itabha add. *B.* ¹⁶ cumang *B.* ¹⁷ dorairgettar mna *B.*

¹⁸ ttiobartaís *B.*

God's vengeance upon Irgalach that he be not on Bregia of true dwellings,
 May there be neither offspring nor race, may he be forsaken childless!
 The bell of truly-miraculous Adamnan has made desolate many kings,
 Each one to whom it gives battle one thing awaits — it has made them desolate.'

While it has made desolate strongholds, it has made kings desolate in defence of women, in bringing them to belief, so that their contract and their safeguard are free from the time of Adamnan until now, so that the Law of Adamnan is the first law made (for women) in Heaven and upon earth¹.

22. Adamnan did not rest satisfied² until securities and bonds were given to him for the emancipation of women. These are the securities: sun and moon, and all other elements of God; Peter, Paul, Andrew, and the other apostles; Gregory, the two Patricks, the two Ciarans, the two Cronans, the four Fintans, Mobiu, Mobi, Momædoc, Munnu, Scothine, Senan, Fechine, Duilech, Cairnech, Cíanan, Cartach, Victor, bishop Curitan, bishop Maeldub, Ionan son of Saman, Foilan abbot of Imlech Ibair, Cilline abbot of Lorrha, Colman son of Sechnusach, Eochaid abbot of Cluain Uama, the two Finns, the son of Labraid Lan.

23. Those guarantors gave three shouts of malediction on every male who would kill a woman with his right hand or left, by a kick, or by his tongue, so that his heirs are elder and nettle and the corncrake³. The same guarantors gave three shouts of blessing on every female who would do something for the community of Adamnan, however often his reliquaries would come. A horse to be given every quarter to his reliquaries, (to be sent) to the coarb to the bath at Raphoe; but that is from queens only, with whatever every other woman is able to give.

24. Women have said and vowed that they would give one half of their household to Adamnan for having brought them out of the

¹ Cf. the end of § 5 above.

² Literally, 'took (accepted) nothing.' The same phrase in § 26 and in YBL. 130 b: *ní rogab acht déntech do dénum imme*.

³ A common expression. Cf. *drissi is truim is traghnaidha | a n-oidridha co bráth*, 'their heirs till Doom shall be brambles and elders and corncrakes,' Laud 615, p. 199.

Nī rogaib Adomnān acht bec hūadib .i. inar find co cimais duib cecha caildigi aithrighi, screpald óir cecha bantōsigi, anart lēineth cech mnā ōcthigirn¹, secht bargena cecha mnā dō[i]re, molt cech trēitīne, cetúan² nobërthai istaigh³ cid duvb, cid find, do Dia 7 do Adomnān.

25. Dī mnái leis cech lúain dar cend na⁴ cāna bici 7 móire sein dochum nime. Tēora⁵ ban cech mairt, ceithri mnā cech cētāine, cóic mnā cech⁶ dardāin, secht mnā cech āine didine⁷, dī mnāi déc cech⁸ sathairn, cōeca ban dīa domnaigh. Comainm a māthar fair anūas⁹, cibē¹⁰ do mnāib in¹¹ talman fora mbeith Ronnat¹², 7 cach ben nothogh-fadh a reilec, rocindeth a mbreith¹³ cen mesrugud dochum nime.

26. Nī rogaib Adomnān co tartta rātha 7 gremann¹⁴ fria lāim im¹⁵ comallad na cāna bici 7 móre sin ris. Ar is dó gebther¹⁶ rāth ar drochfēichimain¹⁷, dia¹⁸ híc don rāth, mani íca in fēchem: a macc ar aithech tighe, a ain[i]m ar¹⁹ anmcara, cech dūil doadas²⁰ tadhas, cech sōerchland cinges²¹ talmain, cech cloc bentar do trádaib da aiterib 7 da²² rāthuib fri lāim Dé 7 Adomnān im comaldad na cāna sin ris.

Is andsein aspert²³ Adomnān na brīathra sa:

27. ‘Mani dernaid maith frim muintir for mnáib in chentair, methfaidh in clann dogēnid²⁴ nō atbēlait²⁵ co cintaib. Līnfaid cessacht for cuile, flaith nime²⁶ ní forbīa, nī thésid²⁷ for cesacht nō²⁸ gūa do²⁹ Adamnān Iæ.

‘Adomnān ō ‘I³⁰ doforfoirfi, a mnā³¹,
tapraid do bfor flaith³² cech maith roborbē³³.’

Adomnān Iæ³⁴ inmain cāch rolēgh libru Gāidel [n]gnáth.

28. Iss ead in so forus Cāna Adomnān Iæ. Oc Birraib forurmed a forus sæ³⁵ for feraib Hērenn 7 Alban im bithchāin co brāth a forngairi

¹ oigticcerna *B.* ² cetúan *R.*, 7 in cēt uan *B.* ³ itigh *B.* ⁴ síc *B.*, a *R.*
⁵ deora *R.* ⁶ cecha *B.* ⁷ didin *B.* ⁸ cecha *B.* ⁹ annuas *R.* ¹⁰ cidbe *R.*
¹¹ an *B.* ¹² Ronat *B.* ¹³ preith *R.* ¹⁴ garmann *B.* ¹⁵ in *R.* ¹⁶ gabtar *B.*
¹⁷ drochfeichemh *B.* ¹⁸ dina *R.* ¹⁹ síc *B.*, a *R.* ²⁰ doada *R.* ²¹ cinnes *B.*
²² om. *B.* ²³ atbert *B.* ²⁴ dogenaid *B.* ²⁵ adbelaid *R.* ²⁶ in flaith *R.* ²⁷ teis *B.*
²⁸ na *B.* ²⁹ da *R.* ³⁰ Iæ (*sic*!) *B.* ³¹ síc *B.*, doforfi mna *R.* ³² dabu
bflaith *B.* ³³ roburbe *B.* ³⁴ o Iæ *B.* ³⁵ forusæ *R.*, forussa *B.*

bondage and out of the slavery in which they had been. Adamnan accepted but a little from them, to wit, a white tunic with a black border from every penitent nun, a scruple of gold from every chieftain's wife, a linen cloth from every gentleman's wife, seven cakes from every unfree woman, a wether from every flock, the first lamb which was brought forth in a house, whether black or white, for God and for Adamnan.

25. In consideration of this small and large tribute, he to take two women to Heaven every Monday, three women every Tuesday, four women every Wednesday, five women every Thursday, seven women every Friday, twelve women every Saturday, fifty women on Sunday. In addition to this it was decided that every namesake of his mother's, whatever woman on earth would be called Ronnat, and every woman who would choose (for herself) his burial-place, should be taken to Heaven without judgement.

26. Adamnan did not rest satisfied till sureties and pledges were given into his hand for the fulfilment to him of this small and large tribute (for the reason why a guarantee is taken from a bad debtor is, in order that the guarantor may pay if the debtor do not pay): his son for a house-master, his soul for a confessor, every creature that moves about, every noble that walks the earth, every bell that is struck at the Hours are as hostages and pledges in the hand of God and Adamnan for the fulfilment of this Law.

It is then Adamnan spoke these words:

27. 'Unless ye women of this world do good to my community, the offspring ye will bear shall decay, or they shall die full of crimes. Scarcity shall fill your storehouses, the Kingdom of Heaven ye shall not obtain; ye shall not escape by niggardliness or falsehood from Adamnan of Hi.

'Adamnan of Hi will help you, O women!
Give unto your prince all the good things that are yours.'

Adamnan of Hi, beloved of all, has read the books of the Gael¹.

28. This is the enactment of the Law of Adamnan of Hi. At Birr this enactment was enjoined on the men of Ireland and Britain as

¹ This *leth-rann* seems out of place here.

a maithi, clērech 7 lēch, immo flaithi 7 a n-oldamnæ ¹ 7 a n-epscofu 7
a sūthiu ² 7 a n-anmcharde ³,

Im Fland Febla sūi-epscof Aird Machæ
Diblainē
Elnai abb Imlechai Ibair
Cennfælad abb Bennchuir
Failbe Becc abb Clūana maic Nóis
Conodhar apb Lismóir
Cillíne mac Luibneáin apb Biruir ⁴
Colmān mac Sechnusaigh abb Lothrai
Echuidh apb Clūanæ Hūamæ
Forandān Cille Dara
Sūadbar ⁵ Insi Demle
Diblēne ap Tíre Dā Glas
Mochonnui Dairi
Oisíne ⁶ mac Glais apb Clūanai Ferta Molūa
Maincīne Leith[glinne]
Moacru
Mobeoc ⁷ Aird
Murchu Balnai
Moling Lūachra ⁸
Mend Maiche apb Fernai
Colcu mac Mōenaig ap Luscan
Ceti epscof
Curetān ⁹ epscof
Conamail mac Conāin epscof
Colmān hōa Hoircc ¹⁰ apb Clūana hIraird
Āedh Slēibte epscof ¹¹
Colmān mac Findbair[r]
Cardide ¹² Ruis Māir
Togialloic ūa Lūain ¹³, an t-ecnaid
Ichtbricht epscof
Feradach hōa Artur
Fælchū mac Máile-Rubai

¹ a n-ollam *B.* ² suithi *B.* ³ anmcairde *B.*, ancarde *R.* ⁴ Berair *B.*

⁵ Suabhar *B.*

⁶ Oisini *B.*, Hoisiniu *R.* ⁷ Mobeoc *B.*, Mobecoc *R.* ⁸ Moluacar (*sic*) *B.*

⁹ Cuirtan *B.*

¹⁰ Hoice *B.* ¹¹ Aedh epscof Sleibte *B.* ¹² Cairidhe *B.* ¹³ Luan *R.*

a perpetual law by order of their nobles, clerics and laymen, both their chiefs and ollaves and bishops and sages and confessors, including

Fland Febla, the sage-bishop of Armagh
 Diblaine
 Elnai, abbot of Imlech Ibair (i. e. Emly)
 Cennfaelad, abbot of Bangor
 Failbe Becc, abbot of Clonmacnois
 Conodar, abbot of Lismore
 Cilline son of Luibnean, abbot of Birr
 Colman son of Sechnusach, abbot of Lorrha
 Eochuid, abbot of Cloyne
 Forandan of Kildare
 Suadbar of Inis Demle
 Diblene, abbot of Tir-da-glas
 Mochonnui of Derry
 Oisine son of Glas, abbot of Clonfertmulloe
 Manchine of Leithglinn
 Moacru
 Mobeoc of Ard
 Murchu of Balla
 Moling of Luachair
 Mend Maiche, abbot of Ferns
 Colcu son of Moenach, abbot of Lusk
 Bishop Ceti
 Bishop Curetan
 Bishop Conamail son of Conan
 Colman grandson of Orc, abbot of Clonard
 Aed, bishop of Sletty
 Colman son of Findbarr
 Cardide of Ross Mor
 Togialloc grandson of Luan, the Wise
 Bishop Ichtbricht (i. e. Egbert)
 Feradach grandson of Arthur
 Faelchu son of Maelrubai

Fælān hō Clūain Ferta Brenaind
 Dibc[h]ēine mac Fileth
 Mosacra
 Mælcoisnei mac Conaill ¹
 Murchu macūi Machthēine ²
 Mældub epscop
 Ioain ecna mac in Gobann
 I[o]hain mac Samuél
 Fælān ūa Silne

Loingsech mac Ōenghusa rī Ērenn
 Congalach mac Ferghusa rí Ceneōil Conaild
 Fland Find mac Māilituile rī Ceneōil Eogain
 Conc[h]abur mac Māilidūin rī Ceneōil Coirpri
 Eterscēl mac Māilehumæ rí Muman
 Cúdīnaisc mac Cellaig ³ rí Irmuman
 Cúcercæ rī Oseirghi
 Conghal mac Suibnei rī inna nDéissiu
 Eoganān mac Crundmāil rí Ūa Fidginti
 Andelaith rí in Dēissi tūaiscirt
 Elodach ⁴ mac Dūnlaingi ⁵ rí Desmuman
 Ailill mac Concenmāthair rí Muigi Fēne
 Fīachrai Cossalach rí Cruithne
 Béec Boirchi rī Ulad
 Nīel[l] mac Cernaigh rī Breghmuighi
 Ceallach mac Gerthighi rī Diaballaigen ⁶
 Condalach mac Conaic rī Corcu Duibhne
 Corpri mac Concoluimb rí Ūa Ceindselaig
 Congal Ūa Mrachaidi ⁷
 Conall mac Doinennaig rī Ūa [Fidgente]
 Cellach mac Ragallaig rí Connacht
 Dlúthach mac Fithchellaig rí Ūa Maine
 Dūnchad rí Uá nAmalgaid ⁷ Ūa Fiachrach Murisg
 Muirgios mac Māiledūin
 Maicnīa rī Arda ūa nEchach

¹ Dall R. ² Maeteni B. ³ Forcellaich B. ⁴ Eoladhach R, Elodhach B. ⁵ Dun-
 laing B. ⁶ rig Diaballaigen R. ⁷ Mbrachaidiu R, Marcadha B.

Faelan of Clonfert-Brenainn
 Dibchene son of Fili
 Mosacra
 Maelcoisni son of Conall
 Murchu the descendant of Machtheine
 Bishop Maeldub
 Ioain of the wisdom, son of the Smith
 Iohain son of Samuel
 Faelan grandson of Silne
 Loingsech son of Oengus, king of Ireland
 Congalach son of Fergus, king of Tirconnell
 Fland Find son of Maeltuile, king of Tyrone
 Conchabur son of Maelduin, king of the Kinel Coirpri
 Eterscel son of Maelhuma, king of Munster
 Cudinaisc son of Cellach, king of East Munster
 Cucherca, king of Ossory
 Congal son of Suibne, king of the Dessi
 Eoganan son of Crundmal, king of the Ui Fidgenti
 Andelaith, king of the northern Dessi
 Elodach son of Dunlang, king of Desmond
 Ailill son of Cu-cen-mathair, king of Mag Fene
 Fiachra Cosalach, king of the Picts
 Becc Boirchi, king of Ulster
 Niall son of Cernach, king of Breg-mag
 Cellach son of Gerthide, king of Diaballaigin
 Condalach son of Conang, king of Corco Dubne
 Corpri son of Cu-choluimb, king of the Ui Chennselaig
 Congal grandson of Mrachaide
 Conall son of Doinennach, king of the Ui [Fidgente]
 Cellach son of Ragallach, king of Connaught
 Dluthach son of Fidchellach, king of the Ui Maine
 Dunchad king of the Ui Amalgaid and of the Ui Fiachrach Murisc
 Muirges son of Maelduin
 Macnia, king of Ard of the Ui Echach

- Murchad Midi
 Colmān mac Rehtabrat rī Fernae¹
 Mælfothartaigh mac Maolduib
 Dub-dīberg²
 Mane³ mac Nēill
 Mælcāich mac Nōindenaig
 Erthuile⁴ ūa Crundmāil
 Aed⁵ Odbae
 Echuid⁶ mac Dūnchadha rī na nDēisi
 Aodh mac Dlūthaig rī Cúl
 Flaithnīa mac Ferghaile
 Fiannamuile ūa Dūnchatai⁷
 Ferathach ūa Cíarāin
 Fethlimith⁸ ūa Fergusæ
 Fallomuín rī Ūa Tuirtri
 Fergus Forchraidh Fócortach⁹
 Garbān rī Mide¹⁰
 Euchu Lemnæ rīi Ūa Cremthain
 Euchu ūa Domnaill rī []
 Conall Grant rīi deiscirt Breg
 Tūothal ūa Dūnchatha rī Ūa¹¹ Conaill Gabræ
 Toicthech¹² mac Cinnfælad rī Lugne
 Bodbhchath rī Luighne
 Irgalach ūa Conaing rī Ciannachtæ
 Bruide mac Derilei rī Cruithintūathi,
 et impidi fer nĒrenn uli etir laochu 7 clērchu.
 29. Tocuitchetar tra huli læchaið 7 clēirchibh¹³ ōgh cāna Adomnān
 do comalnad¹⁴ co brādh. Atropartatar¹⁵ lánéraic a mbanchró¹⁶ do
 Adomnān 7 do cach comorbuo¹⁷ bīas ina suidiu co brādh 7 ní gata¹⁸
 Adomnān fiachu ar flaith 7 eclais 7 fine dia mbī dí¹⁹.
 30. Roggādhatar tra nōibecalsi Hērenn ule im Adomnān ōentaíd²⁰
 inna dēachta athar 7 maic 7 spíto²¹ nōib 7 muntire nime 7 nōebu

¹ Ferna *B.*² Dibeirgecc *R.*³ Manei *R.*, Maine *B.*⁴ Ertuile *R.*⁵ sic *B.*, Aed *R.*⁶ Aechuidh *R.*, Eachuid *B.*⁷ Duncadha *B.*⁸ Feidhlim *B.*⁹ Fogartach *B.*¹⁰ Mide rī *R.*, Garban Mide rī *B.*¹¹ om. *B.*¹² Toicech *B.*¹³ læcu 7 cleirciu *B.*¹⁴ chomhallnat *B.*, comallad *R.*¹⁵ atrobhratar *B.*¹⁶ a mbanchara *B.*¹⁷ comarba *B.*¹⁸ cata *B.*, catta *R.*¹⁹ diammbi dí¹⁹ *R.*²⁰ oentaigh *B.*²¹ spiorad *B.*

Murchad of Meath
 Colman son of Rechtabra, king of Ferns
 Maelfothartaig son of Maeldub
 Dub-diberg
 Mane son of Niall
 Maelcaich son of Noindenach
 Erthuile grandson of Crundmal
 Aed of Odba
 Echuid son of Dunchad, king of the Deisi
 Aed son of Dluthach, king of the Fir Cul
 Flaithnia son of Fergal
 Fiannamail grandson of Dunchad
 Feradach grandson of Ciaran
 Fedlimid grandson of Fergus
 Fallomain, king of the Ui Tuirtri
 Fergus Forchraid Fogartach
 Garban, king of Meath
 Eochu Lemna, king of the Ui Cremthain
 Eochu grandson of Domnall, king of the []
 Conall Grant, king of southern Bregia
 Tuathal grandson of Dunchad, king of the Ui Chonaill Gabra
 Toicthech son of Cennfaelad, king of Luigni
 Bodbchath, king of Luigni
 Irgalach grandson of Conang, king of Ciannacht
 Bruide son of Derile, king of the Pict-folk,

and the intercession of all the men of Ireland, both laymen and clerics.

29. All then, both laymen and clerics, have sworn to fulfil the whole Law of Adamnan till Doom. They have offered up the full *eric* of their female stock to Adamnan, and to every coarb who will be in his seat till Doom, nor does Adamnan take away fines from chieftain and church and family to whom they are due.

30. Now, all the holy churches of Ireland together with Adamnan have besought the unity of the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and the heavenly hosts, and the saints of the

in talman, cach òen comaldathar in cāin si etir saigid 7 timmarcain 7 comalnath 7 ēraicc, arim sírsægul somma 7 arop airmitnech fēith la Dīa 7 dōine, arim inducbude in-nim 7 hī talmain.

31. Rogādatar *dano*¹ nóibecailsi Hērenn im Adhomnān Dīa co ngrādaiph nime 7 nóebhaib² talman, nach óen loittfis Chāin nAdamnān itir læchu 7 clēirciu, nādasia 7 nādacomallnathar³ a neort 7 a cumung⁴ 7 nātimarr⁵ for cāch itir flaith 7 eclais, arimm garit a hsægul co n-imniuth 7 dīgrād⁶, cen athgabāil nime nā talman úadhibh.

32. Rosuidigestar⁷ Adomnān ordd n-escoine dōaib *dano* .i. psalm cach laithe co fichit laa⁸ 7 apstal nō ūasalnōeb cach láí do attach leiss .i. ‘Quare’ 7 Petar, ‘Domine quidh multiplicati’ 7⁹ Iohain¹⁰, ‘Uerba mea’ 7 Pilip, ‘Domine deus meus’ 7 Partalon, ‘Dixit insipiens’ 7 Tomas, ‘Deus, deus meus respice’ 7 Mathius¹¹, ‘Iudica me Domine innocentium’¹² 7 Iacob, ‘Dixit iniustus’ 7 Simon, ‘Domine ne qm̄ (in furore B) 7 Tatheus, ‘Dixi custodiam’ 7 Madian, ‘Deus deorum’ 7 Marcus, ‘Quidh glor[i]aris’ 7 Lucas, ‘Dixit insipiens’ 7 Stefan, ‘Exurgat Deus’ 7 Ambrois, ‘Saluum me’ 7 Grigair Romæ, ‘Deus uenerunt gentes’ 7 Martan, ‘Deus quis similis’ 7 Senpōl, ‘Deus laudem’ 7 Giurgius¹³. ‘Audite caeli quae loquar non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo,’ 7 rl¹⁴.

33. Incipit sententia angeli Adomnani:—

Adomnanus post .xiii. annos hanc legem Deo rogauit 7 causa. Angelus sanctus Domini in nocte pentecosten ad eum 7 post annum in altero pentecosten 7 poculum¹⁵ arripuit 7 percussit latus eius 7 dixit ei: Exi in Hiberniam 7 fac legem in ea ne mulieres ullo¹⁶ more ab homine occidentur iugulatione uel quacunque morte uel ueneno uel in aqua uel in igne uel a quocunque peccode uel in fouea¹⁷ uel canibus nisi in lectulo legitimo. Te oportet perficere legem in Hibernia Britaniaque propter matrem uniuscuiusque, quod mater¹⁸ unumquemque

¹ rogadhatar tra B, roggatar R. ² an add. B. ³ nadacomallathar B, nach comallnathar R. ⁴ cumug R, cumhang B. ⁵ natimmair B. ⁶ diagradh R. ⁷ rosuidhistair B, rosuidhigthar R. ⁸ co cenn fichett la B. ⁹ om. R. ¹⁰ Eoin B. ¹¹ Mathias B. ¹² om. B. ¹³ &c. add. B. ¹⁴ B omits this sentence, as well as the following section ¹⁵ an leg. baculum? ¹⁶ uilo R. ¹⁷ fouea R. ¹⁸ matre R.

earth, that whoever fulfils this Law, both as to claim and levy and fulfilment and *eric*, may have a long and prosperous life, and may be honoured in the eyes of God and of men, may be exalted in Heaven and on earth.

31. The holy churches of Ireland, together with Adamnan, have also besought God with the orders of Heaven and the saints of the earth, that whoever shall break the Law of Adamnan, both laymen and clerics, whoever shall not claim it, and shall not fulfil it to the best of his power, and shall not levy it from every one, both chieftain and church,—his life may be short with suffering and dishonour, without any of their offspring attaining Heaven or earth.

32. Adamnan has also set down an order of malediction for them, to wit, a psalm for every day up to twenty days, and an apostle or a noble saint for every day to be invoked with it, to wit, '*Quare*' and Peter, '*Domine quid multiplicati*' and John, '*Verba mea*' and Philip, '*Domine deus meus*' and Bartholomew, '*Dixit insipiens*' and Thomas, '*Deus, deus meus respice*' and Matthew, '*Iudica me Domine innocentium*'¹ and Jacob, '*Dixit iniustus*' and Simon, '*Domine ne in furore*' and Thaddeus, '*Dixi custodiam*' and Matthias, '*Deus deorum*' and Mark, '*Quid gloriaris*' and Luke, '*Dixit insipiens*' and Stephen, '*Exurgat deus*' and Ambrose, '*Salvum me*' and Gregory of Rome, '*Deus, uenerunt gentes*' and Martin, '*Deus, quis similis*' and old Paul, '*Deus laudem*' and George. '*Audite caeli quae loquor*,' '*Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo*,' &c.²

33. Here begins the speech of the angel to Adamnan:—

After fourteen years Adamnan obtained this Law of God, and this is the cause. On Pentecost eve a holy angel of the Lord came to him, and again at Pentecost after a year, and seized a staff, and struck his side, and said to him: 'Go forth into Ireland, and make a law in it that women be not in any manner killed by men, through slaughter or any other death, either by poison, or in water, or in fire, or by any beast, or in a pit, or by dogs, but that they shall die in their lawful bed. Thou shalt establish a law in Ireland and Britain for the sake of the mother of each one, because a mother has borne each one, and

¹ Leg. Iudica, Domine, nocentes me (Ps. 34).

² See a poem on these maledictive psalms (*salm escaine*) of Adamnan in *Hibernica Minora*, p. 44.

portauerit 7 propter Mariam matrem Iesu Christi per quam totus est. Maria filium suum apud¹ Adomnanum circa hanc legem rogauit. Quicumque enim occiderit mulierem duplici poena damnetur, id est manus eius dextera 7 pes sinister ante mortem abscidetur 7 postea moritur 7 red[d]unt² fines³ eius septem ancillas plenas 7 septimam penitentiae. Quod si fuerit pretium inpositum pro anima 7 pro circumcissione⁴, .xiiii. anni penitentiae 7 .xiiii. ancilla[e] red[d]entur; quod si aggmen autem fecerit, quintus uir usque tricentos ista ultione damnetur; quod si pausi⁵, diuidentur in tres partes. Prima pars ex illis sorte mortificatur 7 circumcidetur manu 7 pede, altera reddet .xiiii. ancillas plenas, tertia iactatur in peregrinationem trans mare sub regula regiminis duri, quod grande peccatum qui matrem 7 sororem matris Christi 7 matrem Christi occidit 7 collum⁶ unumquemque portantem 7 omnem hominem uestientem contriuit. Qui autem feminam ab ipso die mortificauerit penitentiam secundum legem non agens non solum Deo 7 Adomnано in aeternum peribit [et] maledictus erit, sed maledicti erunt omnes qui audierint 7 non maledicent 7 non corripient eum secundum iudic[i]um huius legis.

Ista est sententia angeli Adomnано.

34. Iss ead in so forus cāna Adomnān⁷ for Hērinn 7 Albain: sōire ecalsi Dé cona muintir 7 a fethlaib 7 a termnaib 7 a n-uile folud bēudu 7 marbdu 7 al-lāichib dligthechaiḃ cona cētmunteraib tēchtaidib bīte fo réir Adomnāin 7 anamcharat tēchtaide ecnaid crāibthig. Fortā forus inna cána sǣ Adomnāin bithcāin for clērchu 7 banscāla 7 maccu encu co mbat⁸ ingnīma fri guin duine 7 co mbat inbuithi⁹ fri tūaith 7 confestar a n-immērgi¹⁰.

35. Nech gonus 7 marbus macclērech nō mac endacc a téchtu cāna¹¹ Adomnāin, ocht cumala¹² cache láma, ocht mblíadna¹³ penda ind condice

¹ Ir. *la*, 'on behalf of.'

² *leg.* reddant.

³ Ir. *fini*, 'relatives.'

⁴ Ir. *imdbē*,

'amputation, cutting off.'

⁵ *leg.* pauci.

⁶ *leg.* colum.

⁷ Adomnain *B.*

⁸ *sic B.*, mbad *R.*

⁹ inbuite *B.*

¹⁰ anaimergi *B.*, anaimerse *R.*

¹¹ canu *R.*

¹² *sic B.*, om. *R.*

¹³ *secht mblíadna B.*

for the sake of Mary mother of Jesus Christ, through whom all are. Mary besought her Son on behalf of Adamnan about this Law. For whoever slays a woman shall be condemned to a twofold punishment, that is, his right hand and his left foot shall be cut off before death, and then he shall die, and his kindred shall pay seven full *cumals*¹, and one-seventh part of the penance. If, instead of life and amputation, a fine has been imposed, the penance is fourteen years, and fourteen *cumals* shall be paid. But if a host has done it, every fifth man up to three hundred shall be condemned to that punishment; if few, they shall be divided into three parts. The first part of them shall be put to death by lot, hand and foot having first been cut off; the second part shall pay fourteen full *cumals*; the third shall be cast into exile beyond the sea, under the rule of hard regimen; for the sin is great when any one slays the mother and the sister of Christ's mother and the mother of Christ, and her who carries the spindle and who clothes every one. But he who from this day forward shall put a woman to death and does not do penance according to the Law, shall not only perish in eternity, and be cursed for God and Adamnan, but all shall be cursed that have heard it and do not curse him, and do not chastise him according to the judgement of this Law.'

This is the speech of the angel to Adamnan.

34. This is the enactment of Adamnan's Law in Ireland and Britain: exemption of the Church of God with her people² and her emblems and her sanctuaries and all her property, live and dead, and her law-abiding laymen with their lawful wives who are obedient to Adamnan and to a lawful, wise and pious confessor. The enactment of this Law of Adamnan is a perpetual law on behalf of clerics and women and innocent children until they are capable of slaying a man, and until they take their place in the tribe, and their (first) expedition is known.

35. Whoever wounds or slays a young clerical student or an innocent child under the ordinance of Adamnan's Law, eight *cumals* for

¹ ancillas plenas, Ir. *lán-chumala*. A *cumal*, or 'bondmaid,' represented the value of three milch-cows.

² i. e. the communities of monks.

trí chēt chumal 7 bliadain penda ind¹ cach óin² ō tríb cétaib³ co mīle⁴ nō díarim 7 is cummæ fíach nech fofich⁵ 7 aridaccai 7 nachidanaig a neort⁶. Mād étged nō anfes, lethfíach ind 7 arracuir asn-étged 7 asn-anfes⁷.

36. Fortā forus na cāna sa: ōghdíriu do cech eclais bís i cāinbéscnu; leithdíre dí⁸ ina termund sechtar faithchi⁹; ōghdíri dí de cech grād etir guin 7 gait¹⁰ 7 forloscud¹¹; leithdíri da blāi-neimthib¹²; leithdíre a¹³ foltmaissi clērech namā cen guin, cen gait. Is ōghdíri¹⁴ nach eclais fria sārughud a fethtaltæ, cip port i ndēntur.

37. It é brithimain cānæ Adomnān i cach eclais 7 i cach thūaith .i. clērich dongoat munter Adomnān 7 dia n-aithnet forus a cānae.

38. It é gella na cānu sæ: trīan gild di humui nō argit¹⁵ fo mes cacha crīchiu a tōthucht¹⁶ cacha cainggne. Gell ar trisi, breth ar cōicthi¹⁷, híc ar dechmaid dí caingnib olchenæ. Gell a ochtaib, breth ar trisi¹⁸, híc ar cōicthi¹⁹ isin caingin²⁰ se.

39. Forthā²¹ forus na cāna as²² meise cacha saigte[c]he²³ for aítiri æter grādu tūathi 7 grādu ecalse i crīchaib immedōn 7 i crīchaib²⁴ dīanechtair di fīachaib beccaiph 7 mōraibh ar rēir Adomnān nō a muintire²⁵. Apad 7 forais, 7 nī díbdai Cāin Adomnān nach a muntire.

40. Forthā forus na cānæ: dīa ngontar maic annaic nō clērich, is dia n-ūamaib adnacail tīaguit a fēich²⁶ 7 a fēich²⁷ erradais dia flaithib a finib.

41. Fortā a forus na cānæ asn-eirrithi²⁸ lānfīachaib do Adomnān

¹ pendanain *R.* ² cin *RB.* ³ cedaibh *B, om. R.* ⁴ commile *B.* ⁵ 7 is cuma fofich *B.* ⁶ noert *RB.* ⁷ isnetget anfes *B.* ⁸ cainbes leth di *B.*
⁹ faithdi *R, faiti B.* ¹⁰ goit *B, gaid R.* ¹¹ forloscadh *B, forlascuch R.*
¹² blanimibh *B.* ¹³ ar *B.* ¹⁴ *Here follows in B: cana Adomnain i cech tuaith 7 i ccech eclais .i. cleirech dongoat munter Adhomhnan 7 dianithnet (sic) forus cana &c., as in § 37.* ¹⁵ d'umhu no d'argat *B.* ¹⁶ toact *B.* ¹⁷ bret ar coicthi *B, bert a docthi R.*
¹⁸ bret ar treisiv *B.* ¹⁹ coicieti *B, cociethi R.* ²⁰ caicin *RB.* ²¹ forta *B.*
²² ar *B.* ²³ saigtighe *B.* ²⁴ a ccriochaib *B, in cricha R.* ²⁵ Adomnan nō a muintire *om. R.* ²⁶ feiach *R.* ²⁷ fecich *R.* ²⁸ asneirrich *RB.*

it for every hand (engaged), with eight years of penance, up to three hundred *cumals*; and one year of penance for it for each one from three hundred to one thousand or an indefinite number; and it is the same fine for him who commits the deed and for him who sees it and does not save to the best of his ability. If there is neglect or ignorance, half the fine for it, and . . .¹ that it is neglect and that it is ignorance.

36. A further enactment of this Law: full due to every Church which is in good behaviour; half-due to her for her *termon* outside the green; full due to her for every degree², both for wounding and theft and burning; half-due for her sanctuaries; half-due for merely touching the hair (?) of clerics without wounding or theft. It is full due to every church for violating her emblems wherever it is done.

37. These are the judges of Adamnan's Law in every church and in every tribe, to wit, the clerics whom the community of Adamnan chooses and to whom they commit the enactment of the Law.

38. These are the pledges of this Law: one-third of the pledge in bronze or silver, according to the estimation of every territory, out of the property of every case. The pledge (to be redeemed) on the third day, judgement on the fifth day, payment on the tenth in all other cases; in this case the pledge (is to be redeemed) at once (?), judgement on the third day, payment on the fifth.

39. A further enactment of the Law, that in every suit a hostage is to be adjudged (?) both for the ranks of the laity and those of the church, within territories inside and outside, for small and large dues, in obedience to Adamnan or his communities. There is legal notice and impounding, and the Law of Adamnan or his communities shall not become extinct.

40. A further enactment of the Law: If innocent children or clerics are slain, it is to their tombs of burial their dues come, and their *urradas*-dues to their chiefs within their kindred.

41. A further enactment of the Law, that payment in full fines is to

¹ *arracuir* is obscure to me. See the notes.

² i. e. the orders of the Church.

na banscāl romarbthar, acht ropbé cuit duine occa *nō* cethra *nō* con *nō* teined *nō* claidh *nō* cumtaigh, ar is eirri¹thi cach ndēnte hi Cáin itir claid 7 cuithe 7 drochat 7 tenlach 7 cēim 7 lindi² 7 āthi³ 7 cach ingreim⁴ olchena, acht atroilli⁵ banscál dé. Acht fācabar⁶ trían fri herchomēt. Mād escond, atbēla ann⁷ in dā trían aile. A⁸ trían intí asa dír.

42. Cip aided admbéla banscāl, acht chuit Dé *nō* choiblighe díles thēchtaide, asrenar lānfiachaib⁹ do Adhomnán etir guin 7 bádudh 7 loscud 7 neim 7 chombach 7 chechrad 7 athcumba ō bīastaib cenntaib¹⁰ 7 mucaib 7 chethruiph. Mād cētchin dono a foluth¹¹ *nō* dona muccaib *nō* dona conaiph, a mmarbath fócétóir¹² 7 lethfiach láma¹³ duine ind; mani cētchin, asrenar¹⁴ lānfiachaib¹⁵.

43. Ní dleghar tra frithfolá hi Cáin Adomnāin ná comard cinath, acht asren cāch a chinta ar a láim. Na foachta fo[*f*]echar i Cáin Adomnān, dligith munter Adomnāin¹⁶ forbach¹⁷ dé cenmothá banscāla, cit¹⁸ maicc ennaig¹⁹, cit²⁰ cléirig *nō* do neoch dian²¹ timnat .i. cumal forbaich do muntir Iae²² airm i n-ícatar²³ secht cumala 7 lethchumal di leth secht cumal. Sē seuit for trichoit²⁴ sét, trī seuit for cōic²⁵ sétaib.

44. Ochtmath caich²⁶ bicc 7 caich²⁷ móir do muntir Adomnán di²⁸ guin clērech 7 mac n-ennac²⁹. Māth bēoguin rogonæ nech banscál *nō* clērech *nō* mac n-ennac³⁰, leth secht cumal hūad, cōic seuit déac³¹ for fine *nō* anfine³² dia comláithriu. Trī seuit caich³³ bānbēime, cōic seuit cach teilcthi folæ, secht seuit cach inindrigh³⁴, cumal cach inuithir 7 fiach legæ cenmothā sin. Is for leithfiachu³⁵ gonæ duine dotēitt, mād mō sin³⁶. Mādh bēim co mbois *nō* de durn, unga³⁷ argait ind. Māth glas *nō* derg *nō* att, sē scripuil for unga³⁸ ind. Foltgabál³⁹ ban, cōic muilt ind. Máth banaugra co sártairbirt, trī muilt ind⁴⁰.

¹ errithi *B*, eirrithe *R*. ² linne *B*. ³ ata *B*. ⁴ athi cachi gín *R*. ⁵ atroible *RB*.
⁶ fogabar *B*. ⁷ om. *B*. ⁸ in *B*. ⁹ lanfiacha *B*. ¹⁰ ciantaib *RB*. ¹¹ math
cech cin dona foluth *R*, mad eccin dono a folath *B*. ¹² ócétoir *R*. ¹³ lam *B*.
¹⁴ manice chin asrenair *R*, mani cetcin asrenar *B*. ¹⁵ lanfiacha *B*. ¹⁶ Adomnāin *B*,
adnain *R*. ¹⁷ forbach *B*, forcach *R*. ¹⁸ sic *B*, cith *R*. ¹⁹ ennaic *B*. ²⁰ cidh *B*.
²¹ ima *R*. ²² sic *B*, a *R*. ²³ inicar *B*. ²⁴ tricat *B*. ²⁵ coit *R*. ²⁶ cac *B*.
²⁷ gac *B*. ²⁸ do *B*. ²⁹ n-endaic *R*. ³⁰ ennac *B*. ³¹ sic *B*, dec *R*. ³² anfiniv *B*.
³³ cech *B*. ³⁴ inindrigh *R*. ³⁵ lethfiach *B*. ³⁶ mad mo sin om. *B*. ³⁷ ungai *R*,
ungga *B*. ³⁸ for unga om. *R*. ³⁹ foltgala *R*, foltgabail *B*. ⁴⁰ *B*. omits this sentence.

be made to Adamnan for every woman that has been slain, whether a man has a share in it, or cattle or a hound or fire or a ditch or a building, —for everything that is made is liable in the Law, both ditch and pit and bridge and fire-place and (door-)step and pools and kilns, and every other danger¹, except the woman deserves it. But one-third is left to be kept. If it is a witless person, the other two-thirds shall die. The one-third is his who has the right to it.

42. Whatever violent death a woman dies, except it be (by) the hand of God, or (in consequence of) rightful lawful cohabitation, it is paid in full fines to Adamnan, both slaying and drowning and burning and poison and breaking and perishing in a quagmire and death by tame beasts and pigs and cattle. If, however, it is a first crime . . .² or on the part of the pigs or hounds, they shall be killed at once, and half the due of a human hand for it; if it is not a first crime, full due is paid.

43. There shall be no cross-case or balancing of guilt in Adamnan's Law, but each one pays for his crimes for his own hand. Every trespass which is committed in Adamnan's Law, the communities of Adamnan are entitled to a . . .³ of it, apart from women, whether it be innocents, or clerics, or any one to whom they commit it, viz. a *cumal forbaich* to the community of Hi where seven *cumals* are paid, and half a *cumal* from seven half-*cumals*. Six *séts* on thirty *séts*, three *séts* on five *séts*.

44. One-eighth of everything small and great to the community of Adamnan from the slaying of clerics or innocent children. If it be a life-wound any one inflicts on a woman or a cleric or an innocent, seven half-*cumals* are due from him, fifteen *séts* upon the nearest and remoter kindred as being accomplices. Three *séts* for every white blow⁴, five *séts* for every drawing of blood, seven *séts* for every wound requiring a tent, a *cumal* for every confinement to bed, and payment of the physician besides. If it be more than that, it goes upon half-dues for killing a person. If it is a blow with the palm of the hand or with the fist, an ounce of silver (is the fine) for it. If there be a green or red mark, or a swelling, an ounce and six scruples for it. For seizing women by the hair, five wethers. If there is a fight among women with outrage (?), three wethers.

¹ Literally 'persecution.' ² a *folath* (or *foluth*) is obscure to me. ³ I do not know the meaning of *forbach* (verb-noun of *for-bongim*). ⁴ i.e. a blow that neither draws blood nor causes discolouring.

45. It cobfiachaigh tra fir 7 mnā hi cacha fiachaib¹ beccaib 7 móraib di sund co banugrai ingi etirbás. Ar is ed bás dlegair do banscail² dia³ marbad fir nō mnā, nō di thabairt neime dia n-abbalar, nō di loscad, nō di fochlaid⁴ ecalse .i. cor in-nói ōin[š]lūaisti for murchreth⁵ hi fairrge do techt le⁶ gāth di thīr⁷. Long menathcha⁸ do breith lee. La Dīa brithimnacht furi īsin⁹.

46. Māt¹⁰ epthai dīa n-apallar dabera nech do alailiu, fēich¹¹ dune-tāiti¹² ind. Dubchrecha 7 chnāimchrói foreccattar hi ceth[a]rardi, mani rucā in ceth[a]rarta docom neich sainriud, datongat¹³ fo altbu anme nandfetatar for neoch 7 atrenat fadesin. Mā berait dōig¹⁴ dochom neich co tūarasndul, is ēside¹⁵ bus fīachach. Mād etir dīis nō lín bus lia beth in dōchus¹⁶, scrībtar a n-anman¹⁷ i ndulne¹⁸, dober[r]¹⁹ cach duilend²⁰ inna ecrus im chrand 7 dobertar na crunna i cailech for altōir. Intī fora tuit²¹ cran[n]char, iss é is fīachach.

47. Mani eirre²² bidbaid sāraigetar²³ cāin, asren fine al-lānfīachu²⁴ iar mēitt a chinad 7 dober²⁵ a ndīlsi 7 a n-indarbu iarsin co cend rechtghī. Leth²⁵ secht cumal dia comlāithriu for cach deirbfine 7 anpfine iarsin. Mād lesugud 7 ditiu 7 chomarlēcad, is bás tar[a] ēissi, acht aní²⁶ etirbī fiachu etirbī comlāidre.

48. Fortā forus na cānæ: biat rechtaire Cāna Adomnāu lind bīs di sōerblāthad a²⁷ muintiri .i. cōicfer do aitare 7 biāthad cach óin tobó fiachu in[n]a cānæ fo maith²⁸ cāich etir flaith 7²⁹ eclais³⁰ 7 tūaith. Cumal fri toichniuth³¹ cach æ intan dombongatar³² fēich 7 cintaigh

¹ mna 7 iecaca fiachaib *B*, mna hicacha fiachaib *R*.

² no *add.* *BR*.

³ dia a *R*.

⁴ nō fochlaic *B*.

⁵ murrec *B*. *R* has a marginal gloss on murchreth, of which I can only make out the following .i. isi . . . muir . . . inai . . . muir . . . form . . . gel.

⁶ techt lee *R*.

⁷ le geth aitar (*sic*) *B*.

⁸ mionathaig *B*.

⁹ innsin *B*.

¹⁰ madh *B*.

¹¹ om. *B*.

¹² duinetaiti *B*, dunctathi *R*.

¹³ *sic B*, dathogat *R*.

¹⁴ *sic B*, doag *R*.

¹⁵ is

ēside *B*, is seside *R*.

¹⁶ docus *B*.

¹⁷ sgrībtar a n-anmann *B*, annaman *R*.

¹⁸ ndvillne *B*, i ndulind nō (dul)ne *R*.

¹⁹ dober *B*.

²⁰ dvillend *B*.

²¹ ttuit *B*

²² mani eirsiv *B*, maniterse *R* (*t added later*).

²³ saraighter *B*.

²⁴ feine lanfiaca *B*.

²⁵ dober—leth om. *B*.

²⁶ amail *B*.

²⁷ *sic B*, 7 *R*.

²⁸ miaith *R*, the first i added

later, an leg. miad?

²⁹ etir *B*.

³⁰ ecal *B*.

³¹ toitiū *B*.

³² dombongatar *B*.

45. Men and women are equally liable for large and small dues from this on to (any) fights of women, except outright death. For a woman deserves death for killing a man or a woman, or for giving poison whereof death ensues, or for burning, or for digging under a church¹, that is to say, she is to be put into a boat of one paddle as a sea-waif (?) upon the ocean to go with the wind from land. A vessel of meal and water to be given with her. Judgement upon her as God deems fit.

46. If it be charms from which death ensues that any one give to another, the fines of murder followed by concealment of the corpse (are to be paid) for it. Secret plunderings and . . .² which are traced (?) to (one of) the four nearest lands, unless these four nearest lands can lay them on any one particularly, they swear by the . . .³ of their soul that they do not know to lay it upon any one and pay it themselves. If they suspect any one and prove it, it is he who shall be liable. If the probability lie between two or a greater number, let their names be written upon leaves; each leaf is arranged around a lot, and the lots are put into a chalice upon the altar. He on whom the lot falls is liable.

47. If offenders who violate the Law do not pay, their kindred pay full fines according to the greatness of his crime, and after that (the offender) becomes forfeited, and is banished until the end of the law. One-half of seven *cumals* for accompliceship upon every direct and indirect kindred afterwards. If there be assistance and shelter and connivance, it is death for it; but such as the fine (of the principals) was such shall be that of the accomplices.

48. A further enactment of the Law: they shall feed the stewards of Adamnan's Law, whatever their number, with the good food⁴ of their people, viz. five men as guarantors, and the feeding of every one who shall levy the dues of the Law shall be according to the wealth of every one, both chieftain and church and people. A *cumal* for leaving any one of them fasting, while fines are being levied, and offenders with regard

¹ viz. to look for treasure.

² *cndim-chrú?*

³ *altbu?* An leg. *apthu* 'perdition'?

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'the food of a freeman.'

bīathtæ¹ 7 folongat comnaidm fiach mani bīathat² side. Dī chumail dōaib do cintachaib.

49. Iss ī tra sōeri cach³ aitere dothēt⁴ frimtobach (*sic*) na cāna sæ .i. nī téit cin fine forru⁵ céine⁶ folōsat aideri 7 beta tuinidig 7 nādmbat ēlathaig, acht a cin fadeisin⁷ nō cin clainde 7 a compert⁸ 7 a n-amus⁹.

50. Mād forc[h]or ingine, leth secht ccumal inn. Mādh lāmh fria nō 'na crios, deich n-unga ind. Mād lām fo ētach dia meabluccudh, trī uinge for secht cumal[a] ind. Mā *beith* ainim a cinn nō a sūil nō i n-aghaid nō i cclūais nō i srōin nō i bfiacail nō i ttengaid 7 i ccois nō il-lāimh, it secht cumala ind. Mād ainimh i curp olcena, as leth secht cumal ind. Mād rīacad ētaic[h], secht n-unga for cumhail ind.

51. Mād imdherccad dagmnā im drūis nō im sēna a clainne, it secht cumhala ind conici airig dēsa anall. Let[h] secht cumal, mād ben airech dēsa. Ō sin anund go muirig it secht n-unga inn.

52. Mād airbert bangāl i n-orgain nō cuire nō feachta, secht cumhal[a] cac[h]a lāma co mórseiser 7 cin oīnfir ō sin anon[n]. Mād rotoirched bangāl a ttāidhe cin cor, cin dīlsi, cen ellam, cin ursnaidm, lānfiach de. Nac[h] dilim fil fon lāmt[h]orad mēit loighet, fil fon roid¹⁰ 7 glaisine 7 sep. Mād rūam in bruit, dirim bruit de.

53. Teōra aitere cac[h]a prīmegalsa fri Cāin Adomnāin .i. secnap 7 coic 7 fertiges 7 aitere cāna deirbfine fo Ēirinn uile 7 dā eitiri cāna ardflat[h]a 7 gīalla gabhāla dia dīl, dia mbē tūarasudal bangāl¹¹.

¹ biata B. ² biat B. ³ cachā R. ⁴ doteid B. ⁵ fuirri B. ⁶ ceni B.

⁷ fadisín R. ⁸ compert B, comirpt (*sic*) R. ⁹ Here R. breaks off. ¹⁰ roig MS.

¹¹ Then follows:—Asna duilleocaib doscrioph Cumumhan mac Tuatail i Clerig, dosccriobhad an beccan so. a tigh ua mbrathar ag Drobaois. 31. do marta. 1627.—End of fo. 82^b.

to feeding¹, and they sustain a joint contract of debts unless they feed them. Two *cumals* to them from offenders.

49. This is the exemption of every guarantor who comes to levy this tribute, viz. the guilt of their family does not come upon them so long as they support guarantors and while they are in possession and do not escape; but their own guilt (comes upon them) or the guilt of their offspring and of their children and of their retainers.

50. If it be rape of a maiden, seven half-*cumals* (is the fine) for it. If a hand (is put) upon her or in her girdle, ten ounces for it. If a hand (is put) under her dress to defile her, three ounces and seven *cumals* for it. If there be a blemish of her head or her eyes or in the face or in the ear or nose or tooth or tongue or foot or hand, seven *cumals* are (to be paid) for it. If it be a blemish of any other part of her body, seven half-*cumals* for it. If it be tearing of her dress, seven ounces and one *cumal* for it.

51. If it be making a gentlewoman blush by imputing unchastity to her or by denying her offspring, there are seven *cumals* (to be paid) for it until it comes to (the wife of) an *aire désa*. Seven half-*cumals* if it be the wife of an *aire désa*. From her onwards to a *muiri*, — 9 — seven ounces.

52. If women be employed in an assault or in a host or fight, seven *cumals* for every hand as far as seven, and beyond that it is to be accounted as the crime of one man. If a woman has been got with child by stealth, without contract, without full rights, without dowry, without betrothal, a full fine for it. Whatever . . . which is of hand-produce, great or small, whatever of dye-stuff, or woad or beans. If it be red dye of a cloak, . . . of a cloak for it².

53. Three guarantors for every chief church for the Law of Adamnan, viz. the prior and the cook and the steward; and a guarantor of the Law from (every) parent-family throughout all Ireland; and two guarantors of the Law from high chieftains, and hostages to be held for its payment, if there be the proof of women.

¹ Something seems omitted.

² *dilim* and *dirim* (probably the same word) are obscure to me.

NOTES

§ 1. *Five ages*, &c. This division of the age of the world before Christ into five periods as against the six periods of Eusebius appears first in western literature in the writings of Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 30), whence it passed into those of Isidore, Bede, &c. See Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 181.

Ib. *Adamnan, son of Ronan*, &c. Adamnan's pedigree is thus versified in a poem copied by Michael O'Clery '*as seinleabhar dorch*' in the same Brussels MS. fo. 83 b (see also LL. p. 369 marg. sup.):

Adamnān rohalt in Hī mac rēil Rōnāin maic Tinni
maic Aoda maic Lugdach¹ tra maic Sētna maic Fergus².
A māthair madchin i crī Ronnat ingen Sēgini,
Sēgini in ordain āin dagmac Dūach maic Barrfinnāin³.

2. *i cinn na cobla*. I have taken *cobla* to stand for *comla* 'door.'

3. *her wooden pole*. Perhaps better 'her wooden spear.' See my Contributions to Irish Lexicography s.v. *cess* f.

4. *ní gatar a forgall ar domun degmná*. *Doman* seems used here in the sense of 'all' or 'any,' like *bith*.

Ib. *forsither*, 3. sing. of the s-subjunctive passive of *fo-rigim*. See Strachan, Sigmatic Future, pp. 6, 7.

Ib. *is sruith máin máthair, maith máin máthair*. Cf. Laws, v. 462, 1: *sruith fer fuintiu, sen fer fíndhiu*.

6. *Odla* (Ovey), now obsolete. It was near Navan in East Meath. See the Four Masters, p. 544, and O'Dugan, Topographical Poems, p. 7, and p. iv, n. 17.

Ib. *cia is goríu?* Instead of *goríu* R has, wrongly, the superlative *goríum*.

Ib. *concbaim* = *congbaim*, the enclitic form of *con-gabim*, here used, perhaps, to imply dependence of the clause on the preceding sentence.

Ib. *ní fétur goire*, &c. Cf. *dligid máthair míngaire*, Zeitschrift, iv. p. 468, § 4.

Ib. *drónaim* for *dorónaim*, i.e. *do-ro-gnám*. Observe the potential function of *ro* with the present indicative.

¹ Lugada MS.

² .i. do cenél Lugdach.

³ .i. do cenél Énna.

7. *sóethe sí* for *sóithis sí* = *sóis sí* (cf. *sóithis*, § 8). *th* merely serves to mark off the two syllables from each other.

8. *mo chiuigh* = *mo chích*. Cf. the spelling *baghaill* for *bachaill*, § 9; *aght* for *acht*, ib.

9. *a-mmo chomdiu*. As to the doubling of the *m* after the vocative particle *a* see Stokes, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxxviii. p. 469.

10. *Smir-gal*, 'marrow-withe.' The name also occurs as that of one of Finn mac Cumail's wives. See *Cath Finntrága*, p. 74, 1. Cf. *Bir-gal*, the name of a *ban-echlach* of Finn's, Eg. 1782, p. 22 b, 1.

Ib. *co ná deochaid anim i comatreb a colla diib*. Cf. LU. 33 a, 14: *céin robátar hi fus hi comaitreib a corp 7 a n-anmand*.

11. *maithi*. I have never met this form and should have altered to *maith*, but that it occurs in both MSS.

Ib. *ní rubai in béo cen biad*. Note the potential function of *ro* with the present indicative, and cf. *ní rubai aní sin in nominatiuo*, Sg. 209 a, 3.

Ib. *día n-acet*. *día* with subjunctive = 'if.' See Strachan, *Subjunctive Mood in Irish*, pp. 38, 40, 44, 48.

12. *sóithi sí*. Cf. the note on § 7.

Ib. *Brugach, son of Deda* (Dega? Daig?), not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *to be buried alive in the earth*. In ancient Ireland burying alive seems to have been practised either as a punishment or as a sacrifice to the dead. See the story of fifty captives buried alive around the grave of Fiachra, the brother of Eochaid Mugmedóin (A.D. 358-366), LL. p. 190 c, 13; BB. 264 b, 25; YBL. 187 b, 30; Silva Gadelica, p. 543; Rev. Celt. xxiv. p. 184; and cf. Ir. Texte, iii. p. 417.

Ib. *commaid didiu* is my conjecture for the corrupt *commaidedh* of R and *comaitiu* of B. *commaid*=*com-buith* 'a being together.'

Ib. *a ddorn*. The *dd* serves to indicate the non-aspiration of *d* after the feminine *a*.

14. *Carric in Chulinn*, not identified.

15. *túargbata*. This strange form which is in both MSS. I cannot explain. One would expect *túargbad*. Perhaps the archetypus had *túargbath*. Cf. *doratath*, § 11.

16. *Loingsech Bregbán* (i. e. fair-white), son of Oengus, king of Ireland from 696-703, when he was slain by Cellach, son of Ragallach, king of Connaught, in the battle of Corann.

Ib. *Olc ré i ndigéntar súan fir for (=ar) mnáib*. The translation should

perhaps be: 'an evil time when a man's sleep (i. e. death) will be caused for the sake of women.'

Ib. *deaf and dumb*, because, according to § 14, Adamnan's ears were filled with putrid matter and the root of his tongue had been eaten away.

17. *Doelgus, son of Oengus, king of Munster*. Nothing further seems known of him. According to § 18 he had his seat at a place called Lettir.

Ib. *Elodach, king of the Deisi*, who had his seat at Femen (§ 18).

Ib. *Cúcherca, king of Ossory*, died in 713. He became one of the signatories to the Cáin.

Ib. *Cellach the Red, king of Leinster*. He had his seat at Carman (§ 18).

Ib. *Irgalach úa Conaing, king of Bregia*. He is called king of Ciannachta in the list of guarantors. Cf. Gwynn, *Dindsenchas*, i. 20.

Ib. *Brugach, son of Dedra*, has been mentioned above (§ 12).

Ib. *Fíngín Eoganach*. Nothing seems known about him.

18. *ar óen-lus*, 'intentionally, on purpose,' as in Laws, i. 58, 14 (*cíd ar óenlus dognether*). Cf. *ba for a iarair d'aon-loss dodheochadar* 'it was solely to look for him they had come,' Betha Aodha Ruaidh, p. 10, 17.

Ib. *Femen na nDéisi*, a plain in the present baronies of Iffa and Offa, co. Tipperary.

Ib. The last half-line of the poem has two syllables too many.

19. *oc ogbáil*, probably leg. *oc congbaíl*, 'keeping,' with B. Cf. *o[c] cosnam* in § 21.

Ib. *The palm of gentlemen from them*, i. e. *the flower or choice of gentlemen shall spring from them*. Compare a similar passage in the Book of Fenagh, p. 142.

Ib. *meth ocus milled*. Cf. *is meth 7 milliud dond fir*, ZCP. iii. 3, 3.

20. *ná rup comlann a blíadain*. One would expect *comlán*, and I have so translated. But *comlann* gives assonance with *Domnall*.

Ib. *cudach* may stand for *cuthach* 'madness.'

21. *for Breg fíirthrebach*. Notice the dative singular *Breg*. The plural *Brega* is generally used. See my contributions s. v. *Brega*.

Ib. *costrasta* = *cosa tráth sa*.

22. *The two Patricks*, i. e. St. Patrick and Sen-Phatraic (Old Patrick), the *Patraic aile* of Fiacc's hymn, mentioned in the list of coarbs of Armagh as the second successor of St. Patrick in that see (!). His day is the 24th August; see the Féilire of Oengus, who calls him *cóim-aite ar srotha* 'the lovable tutor of our elder.' According to the Annals of Ulster he died either in 457 or 461.

Ib. *The two Ciarans*, i. e. Ciaran of Saigir (Seirkieran) and Ciaran of Clonmacnois (ob. A. D. 549).

Ib. *The two Cronans*, probably Cronan bishop of Inishmahee (ob. 643) and Cronan of Moville (ob. 650). They are among the addressees of the letter of Pope John IV. See Bede, ii. c. 19.

Ib. *The four Fintans*. There are so many saints of this name that I cannot say which are here referred to.

Ib. *Mobíu*, or Bite, abbot of Inis Cumsraig (July 22).

Ib. *Mobí*, with the nickname *Clárenech* (Flat-faced), abbot of Glasnevin, ob. A. D. 545.

Ib. *Momaedóc*, probably the bishop of Fid-dúin in Ossory of that name (Martyrology of Donegal, May 18).

Ib. *Munnu*, bishop, and abbot of Cluain Eidnech in Laigis (Leix). Also called Fintain (Mart. Don., Oct. 21).

Ib. *Sco'úine*, or Scuithín, of Tech-Scuithín in Slíab Mairge in Leinster (Mart. Don., Jan. 2).

Ib. *Senán*. There are numerous saints of this name.

Ib. *Féchine*, founder and abbot of Fobar (Fore), died about 665 (Mart. Don., Jan. 20).

Ib. *Dúilech*, of Clochar (Mart. Don., Nov. 17).

Ib. *Cairnech*, probably Cairnech of Tulen (Mart. Don., May 16).

Ib. *Cianan*, probably the bishop of Damliacc (Duleek), ob. A. D. 489 (Nov. 24).

Ib. *Carthach*, a foster-son of Ciaran of Saigir, founder of Cell Charthaig in Tironell (March 5).

Ib. *Bishop Curilan*, abbot of Ross Meinn (March 16).

Ib. *Ionan mac Samáin*, evidently the same as *Iohain mac Samuél* mentioned in the list of guarantors.

Ib. *Foelan*, abbot of *Imlech Ibair*. The abbot of Emly mentioned in the list is called Diblainé Elnai, while there is a Faelan of Clonfert-Brenann. Probably a scribe has blundered in § 22.

Ib. *Cilline*, abbot of *Lorrha*. In the list Cilline is called abbot of Birr, while the abbot of Lorrha there mentioned is named Colman. This is correct; for Colman mac Sechnasaig, abbot of Lorrha, is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster as having died A. D. 710.

Ib. *Eochaid*, abbot of *Cluain Uama*, now Cloyne, co. Cork, is also mentioned in the list.

Ib. *The two Finnens*, probably Finnen of Clonard (ob. 549) and Finnen of Moville (ob. A. D. 579).

Ib. *The son of Labraid Lán*, not known to me.

23. *from 7 nenaíd 7 tradnæ*. Cf. the following triad: *trí comartha láthraig*

mallachtain .i. tromm 7 nemtóc 7 tradnai 'three signs of an accursed site, viz. elder and nettle and corncrakes,' Book of Hy Maine, fo. 101 a, 1=YBL. 416 b, 33=BB. 65 b, 47=H. 2. 17, fo. 184 d. As to the connexion between the corncrake and nettles compare the following Munster proverb: '*gach aon neach mar oiltear é,*' *ars'an tradhnach ag dul'sa neantóig*, Gael. Journ. vii. p. 88 b.

Ib. *however often his reliquaries would come*. This refers to the practice of carrying about the relics of a saint for the purpose of exacting the *cáin* or tribute due to him.

Ib. *co cumunc cecha mná chena*. Cf. *dobér-sa mo chumang duit* 'I will give thee all I can' (sic leg.), Rev. Celt. xxiii. p. 398, § 3.

24. *a white tunic with a black border*. From a passage in the *Vision of Mac Conglinne* (p. 96, l. 8) we learn that the black border had a prophylactic purpose. The woman who is to wait upon Mac Conglinne must wear 'a cloak with a black edge between its two peaks, that sorrow may not come upon her.'

25. *teora ban*. This use of the gen. instead of the nom. I cannot explain.

Ib. *cech áine didine*, literally, 'every last fast' (i. e. of the week), as *cét-áin* 'Wednesday,' means 'first fast.' The nominative of *didine* (gen. f.) is *diden* or *deden*. Cf. *din diden* LB. 9 b, 47, 10 b, 3, and the following compounds: *deden-rí na nAsarda* 'the last king of the Assyrians,' LL. 144 a, 22; *ciarb focus a dedendál* 'though his last tryst (i. e. death) was near,' Salt. na Rann, l. 7374; *tan doáinic a ndedenbhaidh*, FM. A.D. 845, where *dedenbhaidh* rimes with *Fedlimid*. Thurneysen has shown (Zeitschr. für deutsche Wortforschung, i. p. 190) how the Old-Irish *día óine didine* was in Middle-Irish gradually replaced by *día háine* and lastly *áine*, the reason being that Wednesday ceased to be observed as a day of fasting.

Ib. *a mbreith*. R reads *a preith*, where the *p* is intended to mark the non-aspiration of *b* after the feminine possessive.

26. *dodas tadas*. Cf. *badas* (leg. *dodas*?) *tadas*, Rev. Celt., p. 414, § 28, and *for aig thaig*, Salt. na Rann, l. 3241.

27. *for mndið*. As to this use of the dative (originally the instrumental) in apposition and its later change into a prepositional expression (*in far nUllaib*, LL. 112 b, 47) see Pedersen, Zeitschrift, ii. p. 379.

28. *for feraib Hérenn ocus Alban*. That *Alba* here means Britain, not Scotland, is shown by the corresponding passage in the Latin text of § 33: 'te oportet legem in Hibernia Britanque perficere.' For this meaning of *Alba* during the Old-Irish period see my *Contributions* s.v., and consider the following lines from an old poem quoted somewhere by Mac Firbis:

*fairem Alban co muir nIcht
Góidil, Cruithnig, Saxain, Brit.*

Ib. *Fland Febla*, bishop of Armagh, ob. A. D. 715.

Ib. *Díbláine Elnai*, abbot of Emly, perhaps the Díbléni mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, Jan. 14.

Ib. *Cennfáelad*, abbot of Bangor, ob. A. D. 705.

Ib. *Faílbe Becc*, abbot of Clonmacnois, ob. A. D. 713.

Ib. *Conodar*, abbot of Lismore. I believe that Lismore is a mistake for Fore (Ir. Fobar). A Conodar, abbot of Fore, died in 707 (A.U.), while Colmán son of Findbarr, mentioned below, was abbot of Lismore at the time.

Ib. *Cillíne son of Luibneán*, abbot of Birr, see Mart. Don., April 14.

Ib. *Colmán son of Sechnasach*, abbot of Lorrha, ob. A. D. 710.

Ib. *Eochaid*, abbot of Cloyne, co. Cork. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Forandán*, abbot of Kildare, ob. A. D. 698.

Ib. *Suadbar*, abbot of Inis Deimle (or Daimle), now 'Little Island' in the Suir near Waterford. A bishop Soadbar is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 181 (July 26).

Ib. *Díbléne*, abbot of Tír-dá-glass. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Mochonmúi*, abbot of Derry, mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal under May 15, as one of the guarantors of Adamnan's Law. He is called Da Chonda Daire by Tigernach. He died in 706.

Ib. *Oisíne son of Glas*, abbot of Clonfertmulloe. This is evidently Osséni filius Galluist, ab Clúana maic Nóis, whose death Tigernach records under the year 706.

Ib. *Mancháine*, abbot of Leithglenn, now Leighlin, ob. A. D. 726.

Ib. *Moacru*, perhaps identical with Moacru mac Senáin mentioned in the Book of Leinster, p. 350 a. See also the Mart. Don., Jan. 8.

Ib. *Mobécc of Ard*. This is evidently *Mophiéc ó Ard Camrois for brú Locha Carman* (Garman, Fél.) *i nUibh Ceinnsealaigh* of the Mart. Don., Dec. 16 = Fél. p. clxxxii.

Ib. *Murchu*, abbot of Balla (in the barony of Clanmorris, co. Mayo), probably the immediate successor of Cronan Balnae, who died in 692 (F.M.).

Ib. *Moling Lúachra*, ob. A. D. 696.

Ib. *Mend Maiche*, abbot of Ferns. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Colcu son of Moenach*, abbot of Lusk, ob. A. D. 702.

Ib. *Bishop Cetí*, evidently Coeddi, bishop of Iona, who died A. D. 712 (A.U.). See the Mart. Don. p. 282.

Ib. *Bishop Curetan*, abbot of Ross Meinn or Ross Maic Bairned (Gorman and Mart. Don., March 16). Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Bishop Conamail son of Conan* (or Cano, A.U.), ob. A. D. 705.

Ib. *Colmán grandson of Orc*, abbot of Clonard, ob. A. D. 701.

Ib. *Aed, bishop of Sletty*, called 'anchorita' in the Annals of Ulster, ob. A. D. 700. He is the Aidus Slettiensis episcopus mentioned in Tirechán's notes.

Ib. *Colmán son of Findbarr, abbot of Lismore*, ob. A. D. 703.

Ib. *Cardide of Ross Mór* (in the barony of Leitrim, co. Galway). Not mentioned in the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Togialloc grandson of Luan, the Wise*. Not mentioned in the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Bishop Ichthricht*. This is the well-known Anglian ecclesiastic Egbert, who brought the monks of Iona to paschal conformity (see Bede, ii. c. 11). He died in 729.

Ib. Of *Feradach grandson of Arthur, Fáelchú son of Máelrubai, Fáelan of Clonsfert-Brenann, Dibhéne son of Fíli*, and *Mosacra* nothing is known either from the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Máelcoisni son of Connall*. Though I have preferred the reading of B (*mac Connall*) to that of R (*mac dall*), I now see from a list of saints in the Book of Leinster, p. 368 f, that the latter is correct. There I find *Maelcoisne mac dall*, i. e. 'M. the Blind Boy.' Nothing is known about him from the Annals or Martyrologies.

Ib. *Murchú maccuí Machíhéine*. This is the well-known writer of a portion of St. Patrick's memoirs in the Book of Armagh.

Ib. *Bishop Máeldub, Ioain* (i. e. Johannes) *of the Wisdom, son of the Smith*, and *Ioain son of Samuel* are not mentioned elsewhere.

Ib. *Fáelán grandson of Silne*, ob. A. D. 711.

Ib. *Loingsech son of Oengus, king of Ireland*. See the note on § 16.

Ib. *Congalach son of Fergus, king of Tirconnell*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Fland Find son of Máeluilé, king of Tyrone*. He died in 700.

Ib. *Conchobur son of Máeldúin, king of Cinel-Coirpri* (a sept in the barony of Granard, co. Longford). He was slain in 706.

Ib. *Eterscéil son of Máeluma, king of Munster*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Cúdáinise son of Cellach, king of East Munster*. Not mentioned in the Annals, unless this was the Cúdáinise slain in 709 in the battle of Mag Elni (AU).

Ib. *Cúcherca, king of Ossory*, died in 713.

Ib. *Congal son of Suibne, king of the Déisi* (of Bregia). He is called Connall in the Annals of Ulster, A. D. 701, in which year he was killed.

Ib. *Eoganán son of Crundmál, king of the Uí Fidgenti* (a sept in the barony of Coshma, co. Limerick). He was probably the immediate predecessor of Connall son of Donennach, king of the Uí Fidgenti, who died in 701.

Ib. *Andelaith*, king of the northern *Déisi*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Elodach* son of *Dúnlang*, king of *Desmond*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Ailill* son of *Cá-cen-máthair*, king of *Mag Féne*. He is called 'rex Muman' in the Annals of Ulster. Died in 701.

Ib. *Fiacha Cosalach* (i. e. the swift-footed), king of the *Picts*, i. e. the Irish *Picts* of *Dálaraide*. He is mentioned in the list of *Dalaraidian* kings in the Book of *Leinster* (p. 41e) as *Fiachra Cossalach*.

Ib. *Bécc Boirchi* (of *Boirche*), king of *Ulster*, died in 718.

Ib. *Niall* son of *Cernach* (Sotal, i. e. the Proud), king of *Bregmag*, slain in 701.

Ib. *Cellach* son of *Gerthide*, king of *Diabal-Laigen*. This is the king of *Leinster* called *Cellach Derg* in §§ 18 and 19. He is called *Cellach mac Gerthid* in the list of *Leinster* kings in the Book of *Leinster* (p. 39b), *Cellach Cúalann rex Lagen* in the Annals of *Ulster* (A. D. 714), *Cellach Cúalann mac Gerrthide rí Laigen* by the Four Masters (A. D. 713). He died in 715.

Ib. *Condálach* son of *Conaing*, king of *Corco Dubne* (now the barony of *Corkaguiney*, co. *Kerry*). The death of a person of that name is mentioned in the Annals of *Ulster* A. D. 717, but he is called king of the *Ui Cremthainn*, a sept in the barony of *Slane*, co. *Meath*.

Ib. *Corpri* son of *Cúcholuimb*, king of the *Ui Cennselaig* (in South *Leinster*) was slain in 709. The Annals of *Ulster* A. D. 708 call him, wrongly, *Cúcholuinn*, while A. D. 683 the name is rightly given.

Ib. *Congal* grandson of *Mrachaide*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Conall* son of *Doinennach*, king of the *Ui Fidgenti*, died in 701.

Ib. *Cellach* son of *Ragallach*, king of *Connaught*. He is called 'Cellach Locha Cime' in the Annals of *Ulster* A. D. 703. He died in 705 'post clericatum.' Cf. LL. p. 41a: [Ce]llach mac Rogellaig .uii. [annos]. in clericatu obiit.

Ib. *Diúthach* son of *Fidchellach*, king of the *Ui Maine* (a sept in *Galway* and *Roscommon*). He was burnt to death in 712 (AU.).

Ib. *Dúnchad*, king of the *Ui Amalgaid* (now the barony of *Tirawley*, co. *Mayo*), and of the *Ui Fiachrach Murisc* (a sept in the barony of *Murrisk*, co. *Mayo*). Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Muirges* son of *Máeldúin*. He was king of the *Cenél-Coirpri* (a sept in the barony of *Granard*, co. *Longford*), and died in 698.

Ib. *Macnáia*, king of *Ard* of the *Ui Echach* (a district in the baronies of *Upper* and *Lower Iveagh*, co. *Down*), died in 702.

Ib. *Murchad* of *Meath*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Colmán* son of *Rechtabra*, king of *Ferns* (co. *Wexford*). Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Máelfothartaig son of Máeldub*. He was king of the Airgialla, and died in 697.

Ib. *Dub-díberc*, probably the son of Dungal, who fell in the battle of Corann in 703. See Tig. A. D. 702. Three Fragments, p. 106.

Ib. *Mane son of Níall son of Cernach Sotal*, slain in battle A. D. 712.

Ib. *Maelcáich son of Noindenach*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Erthuile grandson of Crundmál*. He was expelled from the kingship of the Cinel-Eogain and went to Britain in 700 (AU.).

Ib. *Aed of Odba*, killed in 701 (AU.).

Ib. *Echuid son of Dúnchad*, king of the Déisi. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Aed son of Dlúthach, king of the Fir Cul* (now the barony of Kells, co. Meath), fell in the battle of Kells, A. D. 718.

Ib. *Flaithnía son of Fergal*. Not mentioned in the Annals.

Ib. *Fiannamail grandson of Dúnchad*. He was king of the Irish Dálriata, and died A. D. 700.

Ib. *Feradach grandson of Ciarán*. This was perhaps the son of Maelduín, king of Cinel Laegairi (a sept seated around Trim, co. Meath), who was slain in 704 (AU.).

Ib. *Fedlimid grandson of Fergus*. He is called son of Fergus son of Aedan in AU. Died in 701.

Ib. *Fallomain, king of the Ui Tuirtri*, a sept in co. Antrim. Not mentioned in the Annals, nor in the *Genelach ríge húa Turtri*, LL. p. 338 d.

Ib. *Fergus Forchraid*, slain in the battle of Corann in 703.

Ib. *Fogartach*¹. This is probably the son of Níall and grandson of Cernach Sotal, who later became king of Ireland, and was slain in the battle of Cenn-Delgden in 724.

Ib. *Garbán, king of Meath*. He died in 702.

Ib. *Eochu Lemna, king of the Ui Cremthainn* (a sept in the barony of Slane, co. Meath). He fell in the battle of Corann in 703 (Three Fragments, p. 107).

Ib. *Eochu grandson of Domnall, king of the []*. I cannot supply the gap. 'Echu nepos Domnaill iugulatus est,' AU. 697.

Ib. *Conall Grant, king of southern Bregia*, slain in 718.

Ib. *Túathal grandson of Dúnchad, king of the Ui Chonaill Gabra*. This was perhaps the king of that sept slain in the battle of Corann in 703. See AU. i. p. 152, n. 1.

Ib. *Toicthech son of Cennfélad, king of Luigni* (now the barony of Leyny,

¹ In the text the name Fogartach has by an oversight not been separated from that of Fergus Forchraid.

co. Sligo). In the Annals of Ulster and in the *Genelach Lugni Connacht* (LL. pp. 338 h), he is called Taiclech or Taichlech¹. He died in 734.

Ib. *Bodbchath, king of Luigni* (now the barony of Lune, co. Meath). He is called Bodbchad Mide in the Annals of Ulster, Bodbchar mac Diarmata Ruanaid in Three Fragments, p. 110. He was slain in the battle of Cloenad A. D. 704.

Ib. *Irgalach grandson of Conaing, king of Ciannacht*. He was slain by Britons in Inis mac Nesson, A. D. 702 (AU.).

Ib. *Bruide son of Derile, king of the Pict-folk*, i. e. of the Scottish Picts. He died A. D. 706.

29. *tocuitchetar*, 3. plur. perf. of *do-tongim*, with inserted perfective particle -com-. Cf. *datongat*, § 46; *ducuitig*, Wb. 33 d, 10.

Ib. *ní gata*. This emendation of *ní catta (cata)* of the MSS. is due to Professor Strachan.

30. *arim inducbude*; 31. *arimm garit a sáegul*. Cf. Wb. 25 a, 9: *arim tairis-mech*, 'that it may be stable.'

31. *ná-da-sía, ná-da-comalnathar, ná-timarr*, 3. sing. subj. of *saigim, comalnur, do-immurc*.

Ib. *cen athgabáil nime ná talman úadib*. Cf. LL. 354 e: *ná ricfa a anim nem 7 ná bíad a athgabáil i talmain*.

32. *Up to twenty days*. Nineteen psalms only are enumerated. As we see from the versified arrangement in *Hibernica Minora*, p. 45, '*Deus ultionum*' 7 *Anton* should be inserted after *Senpól*.

Ib. *Old Paul*, i. e. Paul the Hermit.

33. *iacatur in peregrinationem trans mare sub regula regiminis duri*. Cf. § 45. On the punishment of sending adrift on the sea, see Stokes, Trip. Life, p. clxxiv. Among the unpublished legal tracts in H. 3. 18. I find the following (p. 227 a): Mad mac scrine .i. mac so dorinne[d] ri coibdelaig ina richt budein 7 is *ed dlegair* a cur i scrin lethair ar muir in eret bus léir gelsciath ar muir, i. e. 'If it be a "mac scrine," that is, a boy who has been begotten upon a kinswoman in her own guise (i. e. without mistaking her for another) he shall be put in a leathern box upon the sea as far as a white shield is visible.' And again (ib.): Mad fer a cliab áen[š]luaisti [.i.] duine seo curthir a cliab aen[š]luaiste amach for muir ina cintaib anfoit no inndethberi torbaid in airt is léir geilsiciath for muir, lón menaidh[ch]e aenaidche lais 7 genn orda tri ndornd ina láim ac dingbáil aithide in mara de, i. e. 'If it be a man in a wicker-boat of one paddle, that is,

¹ For the same confusion of the names Toicthech and Taichlech, see AU., A. D. 808.

a man who is put in a wicker-boat of one paddle out upon the sea for his crimes of inadvertence or unnecessary profit (?), as far as a white shield is visible upon the sea, store of meal and water for one night with him, and a wedge of a sledge-hammer (?) of three fists (i. e. three fists long) in his hand for keeping off the beasts of the sea.' Cf. also Laws, i. 14, 10; ib., 204, 22.

34. *inbuiithi*. Cf. O'Mulconry's Glossary, 311: *dibell .i. ní inbuiithi in bello* (sic leg.). Ib., 300: *.i. ní buithe in bello*. Here the word is taken as consisting of the prefix *in* and *buiithi*, the participle of necessity of *bú*, 'I am.'

35. *ar-id-accai*, *nach-id-anaig*, 3. pers. sing. pres. ind. of *ar-accim*, 'I look on,' and *angim*, 'I save,' with infixed neuter pronoun *-id*. Cf. Laws, iv. 362, 24: *cach duine aridsisither 7 nachidnanaig cach nirt cach folud* (sic leg.).

Ib. *arra cuir*, perhaps 'payment of a security.' Cf. Laws, v. 454, 15: *arra cuir ó mnái eisinnric*.

36. *a foltmaissi*. Here *a* stands for *i*. Cf. *tríán díre ina tairdhe*, Laws, iv. 168, 25. The exact meaning of *foltmaise* is not known to me. Atkinson, Laws Gloss. s. v., conjectures 'tonsure.'

Ib. *fethaltte* seems miswritten for *fethaldæ*, a derivative from *fethal*, 'emblem.' See Wi. s. v., and compare the following note in Rawlinson B. 512, fol. 44 b: *Cūic primfethail cecha ecalsa rohordaiged la rīg Muman .i. Finngwine 7 la Cathal co maithib Muman umpa .i. bachall 7 menistir 7 cros 7 cloc 7 catur .i. soiscēla*. 'Five chief emblems of every church were ordered by the king of Munster, even Fingwine, and by Cathal, with the nobles of Munster around them, viz. staff and service-set and cross and bell and a book of the gospels.'

37. *dongoat*, 3. pers. plur. of the pres. ind. *do-goim*, 'I choose,' with infixed relative *-n-*.

38. *gell a ochtaib*. I take *ochtaib* to be the dat. plur. of *ucht*, but my rendering of *a ochtaib* by 'at once' is a mere conjecture.

39. *as meise cacha saigtheche*. This is very obscure. *meise* might be the participle or part. of necessity of *midiur*, 'I judge.' *saigtheche* seems a fem. abstract from *saigthech*, 'suable.'

41. *na banscál*. Notice the O. Ir. neuter form of *nach* with *banscál*, while in § 45 and elsewhere the feminine dative *banscáil* is used.

Ib. *eirrilhi*, participium necessitatis of *as-renim*.

Ib. *céim*, literally 'step,' here perhaps rather means 'a stile,' like W. *camfa*.

42. *Mád céltchin*, &c. Both MSS. are corrupt here. Though I can make nothing of a *folath* (*foluth*), I regard *mád céltchin* as a certain emendation, in view of *mani céltchin* later on.

43. *na foachta fofechar*. *foachta* (apparently a neuter) seems a byform of *fuáchtain* f. 'injury, damage' (see the Laws Gloss. s. v., and Zeitschr., iii. 3, 1: *dorónsaid fuachtain frim*).

44. *innindrig*, 'a person whose wound requires a tent.' See Laws Gloss. s. v. *indindrach* (a vox nihili).

Ib. *is for lethfiachu gonae duine dotéit*. Cf. *dotéit for*, 'touches upon,' Wb. 2 a, 3; Sg. 108 a, 3. *tét for a naidm*, Laws, iv. 306, 20. *dotéit aitare ar fer feras in fuil*, ib., 302, 1.

Ib. *co sár-tairbirt*. Here the meaning of *tairbert*, the verb-noun of *do-air-berim*, is not clear to me. It sometimes means 'vigour,' as in Dinds., 109: *nach tairbert dobered fuirri*. But as it also means 'parturition, birth' (e.g. Zeitschr., iii. 233), perhaps *sártairbert* refers to miscarriage brought about by violence.

45. *for murchreth* should probably be altered into *for murchreich*. Cf. *regait in óic diar n-inchaib-ne murcreich*, YBL. p. 129 b.

Ib. *long menathcha*. The word *menathach* or *menadach* is derived from *min*, 'flour,' and denoted a mixture of meal and butter. According to a text published in Archiv, ii. p. 136, such a mixture was permitted in penance as a substitute for water. The word was borrowed by the Norse as *minnpak*, n. Cf. Islendiga sögur I, 34⁹: *pá tóku prælanir írsku þat ráð at knoða saman mjöl ok smjör ok kölluðu þat úporstlátt; þeir nefndu þat minnpak*.

46. *dune-táite*, better *dune-táide*, literally 'man-stealth,' i.e. murder with subsequent concealment of the body. Cf. the Laws Glossary and *De Arreis*, § 5 (Rev. Celt., xv. p. 493), where I have wrongly rendered the word.

Ib. *foreccatar*, 3. plur. pres. ind. pass. of *fo-riccim*, 'I find,' not *for-icim*, as Professor Atkinson has in the Glossary to the Laws.

47. *mani cirre*, 3. sing. subj. of *as-renim*.

Ib. *derbfine*, i.e. the grandfather, the paternal uncle, the nephew and the first cousin of a person. See D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Étude sur le Droit Celtique*, i. p. 186.

48. *bíat*, contracted from *bíathat*. Cf. *mani bíathat* in the next sentence where B has *mani bíat*.

Ib. *lind bís*. I conjecture *lin mbís*, lit. 'the number which it is,' i.e. 'whatever number they are.'

Ib. *tobó*, 3. sing. fut. of *do-bongim*. See Strachan, Sigmatic Future, p. 8. With the whole paragraph compare *Aisl. Maic Conglinne*, p. 45, 24: *ríg do aithne na fíach, briugaid do imfulang do chaithem bíd 7 lenna 7 lessaigthe léo céin bed ic tobach m' fíach*.

Ib. *fo maith cáich*, leg. *fo miad cáich*, 'according to the rank of every one.'

49. *frimtobach*, perhaps leg. *fri tobach*.

Ib. *tuinidech*, a derivative from *tunide*, the verb-noun of *do-nethim*, as *air-naide* is the verb-noun of *ar-nethim*. *Tunide* seems to mean 'the act of taking or being in possession, settled, stationary, or in a certain position.' See the Glossary to the Laws s.v., and cf. the following passages:—Ir. T. iii. 200, 25: *conid leis féin tuinithi in chlaidib 7 a tharrachtu* (sic leg.). YBL. 106 b, 19: *sínset im tuinithi tend | indse airegda Héirend*. LL. 345 d: *dligid tairec tunide*. LL. 290 b, 8: *bói issin tunide sin*. LU. 71 b, 6: *conaccassa iarom isin tunidi sin* ('in that position'). LL. 189 b: *Tunide Tige Burig* (the title of a story). TTr. 973: *do thúathaib tunide Troianna*. MR. 150, 3: *tuirthi tenna troma tréna tuinide turcbála tamnaigthi*.

Ib. *a compert*, perhaps leg. *a compirt* (gen. sing.).

50. *mád lám fo étach dia meblugud*. Cf. O'Dav., p. 104 s.v. *mem: a meblugud i. ueste eleuata* (sic leg.).

51. *aire désa*, 'a chief of land,' the first rank in the *flaith*-grade. *désa* is the gen. of *dés*, f. 'land,' of which I have the following examples: *dub-dés is dub-tuinne*, LL. 147 a, 50; dat. *fon deis*, SR. 7856.

Ib. *muiri*, gen. *muirech*, dat. acc. *muirig*, 'a lord.'

Aed Buide i mbruigin cia be

muiri húa mfadach Maine. Harl. 5280, 49 b.

nom. pl. atát in muirig fo tráig

do ruirig nimi nóebnár. SR. 3925.

See also the Laws Gloss. s.v.

52. *ellam*, 'dowry.' Cf. *ellam rogáid ben Géide | for a céile rocúala*, H. 3, 18, p. 533. Corm. Tr., p. 67, and O'Cl. s.v.

GLOSSARY

- a n-, the neuter article, a forus sa, 28.
 ad-balim, *I die*; pass. pres. sing. dia n-abbalar, 45; dia n-apallar, 46.
 ad-oprim, *I offer up*; pret. plur. 3, atropartatar, 29.
 áin diden, f. *Friday*; gen. cech áine didine, 25.
 airbe, n. *a fence*; gen. cúaille airbed, 3.
 airbert, *use, employment*, 49.
 airbuid, f. *bane*, 2.
 airchinnech, m. *a chief*, 2.
 airleech, *slaughter*; erlech, 6; gen. air-
 lig, 3; dat. do oirliuch, 16.
 airmitnech féith, *honoured*, 30.
 aithech tige, m. *a house-master*, 2, 26.
 altbu (?), 46.
 annac=ennac, *innocent*; nom. pl. m. maic annaic, 40.
 apad, *legal notice, stay*, 39.
 ar-accim, *I look on*; aridaccai, 35.
 arathá, *awaits*, 21.
 árbach. See ár-mag.
 arimm, *ut sit ei*, 30, 31.
 armach, *armed*; voc. m. a mic armaig! 18.
 ár-mag, n. *a battle-field, slaughter*, 7; dat. i n-ármaig, 9.
 as-ibim, *I drain*; co ná hesba (hesboi, hesbe), 18.
 ath-chumba, *a wounding*, 42.
 ath-gábal, f. *attainment*, 31.
 athre, *paternal kinsfolk*, 12.
 atteoch, *I beseech*, 21; verb-n. attach, 32.
 bæl (?), 6.
 ban-augra, *a fight among women*, 44; co banugrai, 45.
 ban-chró, *female stock*, 29.
 blái-nemed, *a sanctuary*; dat. pl. dia bláineimthib, 36.
 bóide, f. *kindness*, 9.
 bort. See port.
 cáin-béscna, n. *good behaviour*; dat. i cáinbéscnu, 36.
 cath-rói, *a battle-field*, 3.
 cechrad, *perishing in a quagmire*, 42.
 céimm, n. *stepping-stones, a stile*, 41.
 cenélach, n. *a race*, 21.
 certán, *a humming tune*, 6.
 cessacht, f. *scarcity, niggardliness*, 27.
 cét-munter, f. *a wife*, 34.
 claidbed, *a putting to the sword*, 9, 17.
 clérehecht, f. *clerkship, priesthood*, 8.
 clérechocán, m. double diminutive of clérech, 'a cleric,' 8.
 cluieín, *a little bell*, 17, 18, 20, 21.
 enáim-chrói (?), 46.
 cobfiachach, *equally liable*, 45.
 cobla, f. = comla, *a door*; gen. hi cinn na cobla, 2.

- cóicthe, *a period of five days*, 38. Laws.
 com-ainm, *a namesake*, 25.
 com-ard cinad, *a balancing of guilt*, 43.
 com-bach, *a breaking*, 42.
 concbaim = con-gabaim, *I place*, 6.
 corrán, *a hook*, 3.
 costrasta, *until now*, 21.
 cotach (verb-noun of con-tongim), *a covenant*, 12.
 criol, *a basket*, 2 (clior B).
 cudach = cuthach, *madness*, 20.
 cumalach, *female slaves*, 2.
 cumalacht, *f. female bondage*, 6.
- dechmad, *a period of ten days*, 38. Laws.
 dechrad, *hardship*; gen. mór dechroid, 5.
 dere, *a hole*, 2.
 derechtach, *forsaken*, 21.
 dés, *f. land*; gen. aire désa, 51.
 descda, *dregs*; dat. co ndescdu, 18.
 dí-arim, *innumerable, an indefinite number*, 35.
 díbdathach, *childless*, 21.
 dí-grád, *dishonour*, 31.
 dilim (?), 52.
 dirim (?), 52.
 díscá, *f. dryness*, 8.
 do-adas, *tadas*, 26.
 do-aith-béogim, *I revive*; dúis in taith-béóigfid, 8; rotathbéoged, 10.
 do-bongim, *I levy (dues)*; fut. sg. 3, tobó, 48; pass. pres. ind. pl. intan dombongatar, 48.
 dóchus, *m. probability*, 46.
 do-goim, *I choose*; do-n-goat, 37.
 dóig, *likelihood, probability*, 46.
 do-immarcaim (for), *I levy (upon)*; ná timmarr, 31; verb-n. timmarcain, 30.
 dorat, *gave*; doratad, 11; co tarut, 8; co tartur, 8; co tarta, 22, 26.
 do-tongim, *I swear*; datongat, 46; to-cuitchetar, 29.
 droch-féichem, *m. a bad debtor*; dat. féichemain, 26.
 dub-chrech, *f. a secret raid*, 46.
 dulne, *a single leaf*, 46.
 dune-táide, *f. murder followed by concealment of the corpse*, 46. See táide.
- eerus, *arrangement*, 46.
 ellam, *dowry*, 52.
 ennae, *innocent*, 35; nom. pl. m. ennaic, 43; acc. pl. m. encu, 34.
 erlech. See airlech.
 es-clú, *ill-fame*, 18.
 es-cond, *m. a willess person*, 41.
 escuine, *excommunication, malediction*, 32.
 etar-bíu (with acc.), *intersum*; etarbí, 47.
 étged, *neglect*, 35.
 etir-bás, *n. outright death*, 45.
- fechtas, *once*, 6.
 féile, *f. shame, pudenda*; dar a féili, 2.
 ferad, *a wetting, wet*, 6.
 fer-glao, *f. a man's hand (a measure)*, 2.
 fethtaltae, 36. See note.
 fid-cheis, *f. a wooden pole or spear*, 3.
 foachta (a derivative of fo-fichim), *an injury, trespass*, 43.
 fochlach, *a hiding-place*, 15.
 fochlaid, *a digging under something*, 45.
 fochrus, *waist, breast*; dar fochrus, 6.
 O'Mulc. 557.
 fo-fichim, *I commit a crime*; fofich, 35; fofechar, 43.

folt-gabál, *f. a seizing by the hair*, 44.
 foltmaisse, *tonsure (?)*, 36.
 forais, *impounding*, 39.
 forbach, *fraction (?)*, 43; gen. forbaich, ib.
 forchor, *rape*, 50.
 fo-rigim, *I bind*; forsither, 4.
 for-loscud, *a burning*, 36.
 forngaire, *proclamation*, 28.
 for-tá, *is upon*, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 48.
 fortamlas, *m. prevalence, superiority*, 19.
 forus, *n. enactment*, 28, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 48.
 frith-fola, *a cross-case*, 43.
 fúal, *urine*, acc. fri fúal, 6.

 geir, *lard*; gen. gereth, 2.
 glaisíne, *woad*, 52.
 gor, *dutiful*, 6; compar. goríu, ib.
 greim, *n. a hold*, 13; nom. acc. pl. gremann, *bonds*, 22, 26.

 ifechta, *now*, 4, 11, 15.
 inber, *m. a spit, a flesh-fork*; gen. cend ind inbir, 2.
 inbuihi (fri), *fit to be classed (with)*, 34.
 inducbude, *exalted*, 30.
 ingníma, *fit for deeds*, 34.
 ingreimm, *n. persecution, danger*, 41.
 in-indrig, *one whose wound requires a lent*, 44.
 in-uithir (from othar), *one confined to bed*, 44.
 iris, *f. a strap*, 6.

 lenbán, *a babe*, 3, 7.
 leth-díre, *f. a half-due*, 36.
 leth-fiach, *m. a half-due*, 32, 44.
 leth-óil, *f. one cheek*, 12.

loss, *sake, behalf*; ar óen-lus, *for one purpose*, 18. See note.
 lúá, *a kick*; dat. lú, 23; com' laú, LU. 114 b, 10.

 maithi, *well!* 11.
 máthre, *maternal kinsfolk*, 12.
 meblugud, *a shaming, defiling*, 50.
 menadach, *n. meal and butter mixed*; gen. mionathaig (menathcha, R), 45.
 mesrugud, *judgement*, 25.
 meth, *n. decay*, 19, 20.
 methaim, *I decay*; methfaid, 27.
 mías, *f. the altar-slab*; gen. cluicín méisi Adomnáin, 17.
 míathach (mfadach), *dignified, honoured*, 20.
 muiri, *m. a chieftain*; acc. co muirig, 51.
 mul, *a bowl*; a mul imme, 2. Dimin. mullóc, *Laws*.
 mur-chrech (sic leg.), 45. See note.

 nenaíd, *the common nettle*, 23; dat. dobeir lán a duirn do nenaíd dó, Hib. Min. 72, 2; gen. nirba him-pide nendta im chloich áeil, Rawl. 512, 113 b²; Síd Nenta, n. 1.

 óg-díre, *f. a full due*, 36.
 óil, *f. a cheek*, 7. See leth-óil.
 opair, *f. work*, 3.

 pennait, *f. penance*; gen. penda, 35.
 poll, *m. a hole, pit*; dat. asin pull tal-man, 2.
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ráth, *a guarantee, guarantor*, 26; n. pl. rátha, 22, 26.
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 riacad, *a tearing*; riacad étaich, 50.
 rigim, *I stretch*; fut. sg. 1: rigfet, 11.
 roid, *dye-stuff*, 52. Laws.
 ro-sagim, *I reach*; ní roisít, 11.
 rúam, *red dye*, 52.

sad (sod), *f. a bitch*; dat. fó saidh, 8.
 saigim, *I claim*; ná-da-sia, 31; verb-n. saigid, 30.
 saigtheche, *f. a suit, claim*, 39.
 sál, *brine*, 13; gen. dar tuind sruthra sále sing, LL. 298 a.
 salchur, *slime*, 14. BB. 450 a, 28; TF. 24, 21.
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 síu, *here*; síu nó tall, 9.
 sóer-chland, *a freeman, noble*, 26.
 sroigled, *a flogging*, 3.
 súi, m. *a learned man, sage*; acc. pl. súthiu (suithi, B), 28.

táide, *f. secrecy, stealth*, 52. Cf. dune-táide.
 taiselbad, *an exhibiting*; i tasilbhath, *as a trophy*, 3.
 tartur. See dorat.
 téchtaide, *lawful*, 34, 42.
 tiag, *f. a satchel, bag*; tiag (tēch, B) looin, 3.
 tiget, m. *thickness*; ba sé tiget in áir, 7.
 toichned¹, *keeping a person fasting*; fri toichniuth, 48. Laws; toichne[d] beoil cin biadh, H. 3. 18, 207 a; hi toichned .i. hi troscud, LU. 84 a, 31.
 tragna, *a corncrake*, 23; labraid tragna trén bard, Four Songs, p. 10, § 7.
 trebad, *household*; gen. trebthai, 24.
 tréitíne, *a small flock*, 24.
 trisse, *a period of three days*, 38; treise, Laws.
 túarasndal, *testimony, proof*, 53; co tuarasndul, 46; tuarastal, Laws.
 tuinidech, 39. See note.
 tummad, *a dipping*; do tummud, 2.
 tustigud, *a bringing forth, propagation*, 4.
 úag-ingen, *f. a virgin*, 9.
 úar-both, *f. an outer hut*; dat. i n-úarboith, 2.

¹ Verb-noun of *do-cinim*, 'I fast'; docinet lais fo domnach, Imr. Brain, II, p. 286, l. 24.

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part 2
quinto

Ad hunc pontificem. Abbates. necne priores. Cui perquirentur res ecclesie spolia.

Temo facit faceret per domine.

[illegible]

fidei ecclesie ab act. Sano
 dicitur loq. Multa loq.
 bonae de iur. de. quere
 de his que ad iur. de co fact.
 Cur et causa que infamia
 prestat civitati. que
 ille se un illius prelati
 f. de medio f. m. uen.
 conf. ad iur. de. se in
 b. de iur. de. se in
 d. de iur. de. se in
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Anecdota Oxoniensia
THE CHRONICLE OF
JOHN OF WORCESTER

1118-1140

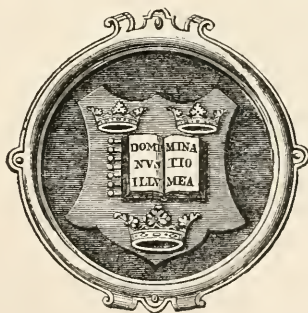
BEING THE CONTINUATION OF THE
'CHRONICON EX CHRONICIS' OF
FLORENCE OF WORCESTER

EDITED FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE OXFORD

BY

J. R. H. WEAVER

HONORARY SCHOLAR OF KEBLE COLLEGE OXFORD



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PREFACE

THE composite work, the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* of Florence of Worcester with its Continuation, has not been fortunate in the matter of editions, although for the greater part of the work several MSS. of good authority are known to exist. It is, however, the Continuation, and especially its narrative for the period 1128-41,¹ which has shown to most disadvantage as the result of indifferent editing. Briefly, the history of the printed text of the Chronicle is as follows:—

In 1592 Lord William Howard of Naworth was prevailed upon to edit a manuscript of Florence then in his possession. This text, which is an early copy and of good authority, Howard printed in full to its conclusion *sub ann.* 1138. But, thinking his manuscript defective in the Continuation, he supplemented its readings with extensive extracts from a second manuscript, alleged to be a copy of Florence's chronicle, which was placed at his disposal by the Kentish historian William Lambarde. From the annal of 1138 where his own MS. concluded, Howard copied Lambarde's MS. *verbatim* to its end *sub ann.* 1141. The resulting work was the *Editio Princeps* of the Chronicle.² In addition to many errors of transcription, Howard's edition contained, in the text of the Continuation, a number of interpolations derived from Lambarde's manuscript, which are not to be found in any other extant MS. of Florence earlier in date than the sixteenth century. The two manuscripts used by Howard, which are now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, are described in detail below. The edition of 1592 was faultily reprinted at Frankfort in 1601.³

¹ The Continuation is conjectured to begin with the annal of 1118, and this date is taken as a convenient starting-point for the present edition. It was possibly brought down to the close of Stephen's reign, but no portion of the text is found after the annal of 1141.

² *Florentius Wigorniensis, Chronicon ex Chronicis ab initio mundi usque ad ann.* 1141, &c., ed. W. Howard, 4to, Lond., 1592.

³ *Matth. Westmon., Flores Hist. et Chronicon ex Chronicis auct. Flor. Wig., &c.*, fol., Frankfort, 1601. This text was used for the excerpts from Florence in Bouquet's *Recueil*, xliii. 67-78. Paris, 1786.

What is at present the standard edition of Florence's chronicle appeared next, in 1848, edited for the English Historical Society by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe.¹ For the pre-Conquest portion of the narrative this editor followed, with some omissions, the text of Florence prepared by Mr. Petrie for the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, the publication of which had been delayed until that year;² for the period 1066-1127 Mr. Thorpe appears to have used as his main authority the text of an important manuscript of Florence in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; after that date, however, he preferred to follow for the most part the version of Howard's edition, retaining without comment its faulty and conflicting narrative, though adapting it, in places, to the superior chronology of the Corpus MS.

The result is that the text of the Continuation as it stands in the principal edition, so far from being the homogeneous record of any single manuscript, is really a not over-skilful blend of the work of at least three different hands, in which much has been omitted that is the work of the true Continuator, yet much retained that indubitably is not.

It is hardly surprising therefore that historians generally should have depreciated the historical value of the Continuator's narrative and that Mr. Round should be able to write:³ 'The Continuator muddled in inextricable confusion the events of 1138 and 1139,' treating his chronology throughout with scant consideration. A brief inspection of the three manuscripts concerned will hardly warrant such an attitude. They are as follows:—

(i) MS., Trinity Coll., Dublin, No. 502, E. 5. 23. This work, here designated H., is described in Dr. Abbott's catalogue as '4to., membr., s. xii., *Florentius Wigorniensis: Chronicon ex Chronicis seu Historia Angliae usque ad ann. 1138 deducta*'. It consists of 263 leaves (ff. 1-107,

¹ *Flor. Wig. mon., Chronicon ex Chronicis*, A.D. 449-1117. Continuation I, -1141. Continuation II, -1295, ed. B. Thorpe, *Eng. Hist. Soc.*, 8vo, Lond., 1848-9. The so-called 'second Continuation' is the work of Taxster and Eversden and has no connexion with the Worcester chronicle.

² Mr. Petrie's text was meant to represent all the original work of Florence for the period 449-1066. To secure this the work of Marianus as exhibited by the MS., Cott. Nero. C. V., was apparently subtracted from the joint chronicle of Marianus-Florence in the MSS., C. C. C. Oxon. clvii and Lambeth xlii, and the residue, for that period, printed.

³ *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 284.

1-156), written and rubricated in one hand of the twelfth century until the end of the annal of 1131.¹ This is probably where this copy was originally meant to conclude; and in this respect it is similar to the majority of MSS. of Florence containing the Continuation, with whose common version up to this point it substantially agrees. A somewhat later hand, perhaps of the thirteenth century, has, however, added a portion of the later text of the Continuation from the words 'Stella cometis' in the annal of 1132 to the word 'proficiscitur' in that of 1138. This addition, though omitting portions of the intervening narrative as found in the Corpus MS., contains no interpolations and nothing that materially conflicts with the version of that manuscript. Prefixed to the text are some, but not all, of the calendars and dissertations of Marianus together with Florence's descriptions of the Heptarchic kingdoms, lists of Anglican bishops and regal genealogies, the latter being brought down in the original hand to the later years of the reign of Henry I. This manuscript, which is somewhat inaccurately described in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*,² formerly belonged to Lord W. Howard, who used it as the sole authority for his edition up to a point in the Continuation where the fuller text of Lambarde's manuscript began to overlap. It contains no break in the text at the annal of 1118, the words 'Huc usque author noster', &c., which appear in Howard's text at that point, being that editor's own insertion.

(ii) MS., Trinity Coll., Dublin, No. 503, E. 6. 4. This perplexing work is described by Dr. Abbott as '5x4, *membr.*, s. *xiii. vel xiv*: *Idem opus*, abridged but with a fuller continuation', and quoted by Hardy³ as 'a compilation from various sources, amongst others from Florence'. This is hardly an adequate description. Consisting of 160 leaves in 12mo and measuring only $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, this manuscript contains as its principal work, ff. 1^{vo}-122^{vo}, a 'little chronicle'⁴ written apparently at

¹ The last sentence of this annal is, however, in a different ink and possibly not the original hand.

² Vol. ii, p. 130. For permission to inspect this and the following manuscript the thanks of the writer are due to Mr. A. De Burgh, Senior Assistant Librarian, Trinity College, Dublin.

³ *Desc. Cat.*, ii. 130.

⁴ It thus describes itself, fo. 63^{vo}: 'Quae vel quot in Anglia dudum extitere regna . . . succinte perstrinximus in hac chronica nostra, ut dum de his questio fuerit oborta, prompta querentibus reddantur responsa.'

Worcester, consisting mainly of short annals extracted from the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* and continued down to the words 'Romam ivit' in the annal of 1123. This 'Chronicula' is written in two hands, of which the first only contributes, ff. 1^{vo}–36^{vo}, an abstract of the lists and genealogies of Marianus and Florence. The narrative proper, ff. 36^{vo}–122^{vo}, is written throughout in a hand of the twelfth century. The work is rather more, however, than a *résumé* of the larger chronicle; it contains several additions of its own, of which perhaps the most significant is a lament in verse on the death of Bishop Wulfstan, in the course of which some information is gleaned as to the identity of the writer.¹ From the end of the eleventh century the extracts become fuller and follow more closely the narrative of the larger work, although a different and more guarded account of the death of William Rufus is recorded. After noticing the death of Florence *s.a.* 1118 and adding a note as to its own derivation,² the *Chronicula* rapidly concludes. That it was written at Worcester seems tolerably certain; that it is the work, if not the autograph, of the monk John, in the early part of the twelfth century, is an opinion which a more prolonged examination of the text would be needed to confirm.

The manuscript seems now to have changed hands. Continuing from the point where the *Chronicula* ends, an early thirteenth-century hand has appended a copy of the Continuation of which Gloucester appears to have been the source. From this Gloucester copy, here designated G., as exhibited in the MS. under notice, what has hitherto been regarded as the normal version of Florence's Continuator has been mainly derived. It contains however a number of interpolations. Of these the most significant are those which relate to Gloucester, viz. the death of Roger de Berkeley (1127), the resignation and death of Abbot William (1130–1), the nomination and consecration of Abbot Gilbert (1139), the visits of Stephen and Matilda to Gloucester (1138, 1139). But those which throw the narrative into most confusion are the intruded accounts of the Papal Schism *s.a.* 1137, Stephen's quarrel with the bishops, the

¹ fo. 112: ' . . . De medio factus—Hic presul beatus,
Mihi dedit victum—Concessit amictum.
Iam carebo pane—Et peribo fame.
In merorem tota—Versa est Wigorna . . . '

² fo. 120^{vo}, *s.a.* 1118: ' Huius subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria, praeeminet cunctis Chronicarum Chronica. Haec etiam de ipsa maiori collecta Chronicula. '

defection of Miles of Gloucester, and the death of Roger of Salisbury *s. a.* 1138, and lastly the alternative date of the landing of the Empress. Considerable portions of the true text, which are only found elsewhere in the Corpus MS., Howard contrived to overlook; but most of the historically worthless interpolations unfortunately found their way into his and the later edition. The original source of G.'s text was probably a lost Gloucester copy of Florence and his Continuator into which these notices had been intruded by a monk of that house. This may have continued further than 1141 and was possibly the source from which Gervase copied.¹ That G. itself is original is unlikely; it contains numerous grammatical and other errors which only the unquestioning intelligence of an inferior copyist could have left on record.

The early history of the manuscript is not known. In the sixteenth century, however, it appears to have passed through the hands of Joscelyn,² Stowe, and Holinshed before coming into the possession of Lambarde in 1575. By the last-named it was lent and eventually given to Howard, who, for the purposes of his edition, combined its fuller text of the Continuation with that of his own MS., in the way already described.

(iii) MS., Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, No. 157. This manuscript, C., which is discussed in detail in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, has long been recognized as the best existing copy of the work of Florence and his Continuator. Mr. Thorpe claims to have taken it as the basis of his text, but, as already pointed out, that can only have been the case to a very limited extent. He altogether omitted quite extensive portions of its text in the later part of the Continuation; presumably because the pieces in question do not appear in Howard's edition, which he was here following so unreservedly. The absence of these passages from the earlier edition was, however, an oversight on the part of Howard, since they are nearly all recorded in MS. G., that editor's principal source for the period in question. Though described as 'visions and marvellous tales' these omissions are undoubtedly part of the true Continuation, and their inclusion would have thrown some much-needed light on the question

¹ *Vide* Gervase of Canterbury, ed. Stubbs, *R. S.*, i, p. xliii.

² A copy of the faulty continuation, made by Archbishop Parker's secretary, will be found in MS., Cott. Calig. A. vi, ff. 230-5. More important is a translation by Holinshed of the whole manuscript in MS., Harl. 563, ff. 1-49.

of its authorship and history. In the text which here follows, therefore, the majority of them appear in print for the first time.

The Corpus manuscript belonged to Worcester, from which fact its version derives additional authority. It is written throughout in a fairly uniform hand of the early part of the twelfth century until the annal of 1110 or thereabouts, when the writing begins to change imperceptibly. From this point to its end in 1140 the text appears to have been written in a very desultory way; the entries are irregular, the ink varies, and there are numerous erasures and interlineations. The chronicle proper is preceded by fuller lists, tables, and *excursus* than appear in any other copy. In the original hand these are mostly brought down to the early years of the reign of Henry I; later hands have continued them to the time of Stephen. These were only partly printed by Mr. Thorpe, who, on the principle of excluding everything derived from Marianus, contrived to overlook much that was the work of Florence; notably some chronological details which incidentally throw some light on the time at which Florence began to write.¹ In C., as in all other MSS. of the Chronicle, there is no break in the text at the annal of 1118, and little internal evidence to show where Florence's work concluded and that of the Continuator began. On the ground that Florence's death is recorded in the text under the year 1118, Bale, Howard, and later antiquaries assumed that his work ceased with the annal of the preceding year, a conjecture which has generally been accepted, but which no evidence exists to prove. The text has been annotated throughout by three hands of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries respectively; their marginal additions are indicated, with their date, in the footnotes to the text below.

For the later part of the Continuation, the three manuscripts above described, together with some sixteenth-century copies derived from them, are the only sources; no other MS. of Florence being continued further

¹ fo. 55: 'Si nosse vis secundum evangelicam veritatem quot sint anni ab Incarnatione Domini, scito quot fuerint ordines Indictionum, utpote xlvii^o. anno Imperatoris Heinrici—lxxiii. Hos per xv. multiplica; fiunt lcx. Adde semper regulares iiii., quia xii^a. Indictione incarnatus est Dominus et Indictionem cuiuscunque volueris anni, utpote in presenti—xi. Fiunt lcxv. Isti sunt anni Incarnationis Domini secundum evangelium.' i.e. 1103. The example is adduced by Florence to illustrate Marianus' rule for reckoning the year 'secundum evangelium'—a method which post-dated it by twenty-two years.

than the year 1131. As to the respective merits of their versions of the Continuation there can be no question. C. is the most accurate and the earliest: if not the actual autograph of the Continuator John, it may certainly be pointed to as a working copy written out for his use and revised by his own hand.¹ H., though fragmentary, is reliable enough as far as it goes, and, up to the annal of 1131, one of the earliest transcripts of the original. G. is the latest of the three and most inaccurate; although loaded with interpolations, it nevertheless omits many fragments of the text which give local colour and a personal touch to the narrative of C.

The remaining MSS. which contain the Continuation need not be discussed in detail. The most important are the MSS. Lambeth No. 42 (L., an Abingdon copy), Bodleian No. 297 (B., a Bury copy), Corp. Chri. Coll., Cambs. No. 92 (CC., a Peterborough copy).² In each of these the Continuation ceases at the year 1131 and their collated versions substantially agree. This common version of the Continuation ceasing at 1131 is also to be found in the thirteenth-century copies embodied in the *Memoriale* of Walter of Coventry.³

The history and authorship of the Continuation and the relations of the various manuscripts constitute something of a problem. Wherever it ended the work of Florence appears to have been carried on contemporaneously at Worcester by the monk John⁴ and concluded at the year 1131. Copies were then made at other monasteries. Subsequently, however, between the years 1139 and 1154, one of the texts, possibly C. itself, must have been re-written from the annal of 1128 by the author,

¹ Such was the opinion formed by Dr. Liebermann when he inspected the MS. thirty years ago, *vide* Pertz, *M. G. H.*, xiii. 130-4, notes, and *Ungedruckte Anglo-Norm. Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 15, 16. He has recently confirmed this opinion to the writer.

² L. is the earliest of the three and closely related to Howard's MS. H. It contains some additions relating to Abingdon which Mr. Thorpe includes in footnotes to his edition. After 1131 CC. copies Henry of Huntingdon. For permission to examine the last-named and other Parker MSS., the writer is indebted to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and especially to the kindness of Mr. C. W. Moule, Fellow and Librarian of the College.

³ MSS., C.C.C., Cambs. 175, Magd. Coll., Oxon. 36, Cott. Vitell. E. xiii.

⁴ In this connexion *vide* the oft-quoted evidence of Orderic Vitalis, ed. Le Prevost, ii. 161. He probably visited Worcester shortly after the death of Florence and found John at work on the Continuation; but he makes the mistake of attributing to the Continuator the authorship of the whole Chronicle.

who in the meanwhile, as he himself says, had been away from the monastery and evidently had collected new material.

Of the authority of John of Worcester as a chronicler it is possible to speak with praise. Though occasionally fantastic in style and exhibiting a fondness for the miraculous, he has nevertheless a great respect for truth, in more than one instance refusing to credit current rumour. Throughout the Civil War he is a friend, a somewhat candid friend, of Stephen, to whose faults he is far from blind. It is evident from his narrative that he came into contact with persons of high authority. So far from being a muddler, he gives an accurate and consistent, though restricted, account of the principal happenings of the period with which he deals.

[By the kindness of Mr. H. W. C. Davis, the writer is able to add the following notes relating to John of Worcester:] ‘John was certainly at Worcester in the year 1132. In a passage omitted in previous editions, he relates, under this year, the death of the precentor Uhtred, who “loved me like a foster-father”, and says “lateri eius stans adherebam” (fo. 384). About the year 1134 John was “in exile” in Winchcombe Abbey; during his residence in that house he conversed with the royal physician Grimbald, from whom he learned some anecdotes about the dreams of Henry I, which he records under the year 1130 (fo. 383-5). Whatever the cause of his stay at Winchcombe, John had returned to Worcester by the month of November, 1139; he speaks of himself as being present at divine service in the Cathedral when the approach of a hostile force from Gloucester was announced (fo. 394). The later part of the Continuation, from 1128, was written by John after the death of Henry I. This is shown by the rubric to his account of the Great Council of that year, in which homage was done to Matilda: *De iuramento iam mutato in periurium*; and by a reference, under the year 1130, to King Stephen “qui nunc imperat” (fo. 383). In the annal for 1134 he speaks of Henry of Winchester as “non tunc sed nunc Romanæ ecclesiæ legatus”—a remark which shows that he was writing after March 1, 1139. At the same time the large number of precise dates which John gives may be taken as a proof that he worked from notes made contemporaneously with the events recorded.

‘Of John’s characteristics as a writer little need be said. When his

work has been stripped of later accretions, his partiality for Stephen is unmistakable. He admits that Stephen's supporters had committed perjury in breaking their oath to Matilda; he would even blame Stephen "*si non vererer regiae maiestati caput Iohannis condempnari*". Nor does he extenuate the weakness of the King's policy towards the Welsh, a subject on which it was but natural that a native of the Marches should feel strongly: "*Iam in pluribus locis*" he remarks under the year 1136 "*et maxime in Walia depopulatio et depredatio minime cessat. Hinc conicere quis poterit quod mediocri prudentia imbecillique fortitudine et magis iniustitia quam iustitia a quibus regi deberet regitur Anglia*". He reflects even more explicitly upon the King in a later passage (fo. 393): "*rex est pacis, et o utinam rex rigoris iustitiae conterens sub pedibus inimicos et aequa lance iudicii decernens omnia, in robore fortitudinis conservans et corroborans pacis amicos.*" None the less Stephen is to him "*rex magnificus*", "*rex pietatis et pacis*" (fo. 390, 392). The objective character of his narrative prevents this partiality from affecting his value as a historian; he busies himself as little as possible with the motives of political personages; his business is simply to record events from day to day. Where he deviates from his task as an annalist, it is that he may record an edifying vision or miracle, the last hours of a fellow-monk or some remarkable natural phenomenon. He has a predilection for doggerel verse and his grammar is defective. He shows some interest in chronology—it would be strange if a pupil in the school of Marianus and Florence did not: and he is capable of quoting a tag from Terence. But otherwise he shows no sign of education. He belongs to the class of local chroniclers and has no pretensions to rank with the leading historians of his age, with William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon or the last of the Peterborough writers.'

The text of the Corpus MS., C., is given in full in the following pages from the annal of 1118. It has not been thought advisable to encumber it with detailed collations from the other MSS., but the principal variations of Howard's manuscripts G. and H., and as far as possible the arrangement of their narratives, are indicated in footnotes to the text. For the full text of the more lengthy interpolations of the MS. G. the reader is referred to the pages of Mr. Thorpe's edition, where they are retained.

For access to the manuscript C. and for permission to reproduce its illustrations, the best thanks of the writer are due to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and especially to Mr. R. W. Livingstone, Fellow and Librarian. To Professor F. Liebermann he is much indebted for his kindness in placing some valuable notes at his disposal and in lending the weight of his learned opinion on several doubtful points. Mr. R. J. Whitwell kindly assisted him with some obscurities in the text. Above all, he is indebted to Mr. H. W. C. Davis of Balliol College, who was the first to indicate the nature of the irregularities in the older texts, who brought them to his notice and kindly supervised the proof-sheets of the present edition.

J. R. H. W.

KEBLE COLLEGE,
February, 1908.

THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN OF WORCESTER

(MS. Corp. Chri. Coll., Oxon. clvii, fo. 372 *seqq.*)

Eadmer, *H.N.*
(*ed. R.S.*) 246.

MCXL. xii.]¹ Sacrae memoriae Pascalis papa xiiii^o. kal. Feb. defun- [MCXVIII. gitur et loco eius Iohannes quidam Gaite natus substitutus, et mutato nomine Gelasius est nuncupatus. Hic in monasterio Montis Cassini ab infantia monachus² nutritus et adultus, in ministerio venerabilium apostolicorum Desiderii, Urbani et Pascalis assiduus fuerat, cancellarii officio functus. Rex vero Teutonicus, qui et Romanus imperator, audito papam huic vitae decessisse, Romam advolat et Bracarensem episcopum, iam anno preterito ab eodem papa Beneventi excommunicatum, cedente ab urbe Gelasio, papam instituit, et ex Mauricio³ Gregorium nominat.

'A. D. 1118.
Death of Pope
Paschal II,
succeeded by
Gelasius II.

The Emperor
sets up the
Anti-pope
Gregory.

Eadmer, 248.

Mahthildis regina Anglorum apud Westmonasterium, kal. Maii⁴, obiit, et in ipso monasterio decenter sepulta est. Plures Normannorum quam regi Henrico iuraverant fidelitatem postposuerunt, et ad regem Franciae Ludovicum principesque eius, adversarios scilicet ipsius naturalis domini sui, non veriti iustitiam, se transtulerunt. Prefatus papa Gelasius per mare Burgundiam venit, et adventus eius mox Galliae toti innotuit.

Death of
Queen Ma-
tilda, May 1.
Disaffection in
Normandy.

Pope Gelasius
in Burgundy.

Non. Iulii obiit Domnus Florentius Wigornensis monachus. Huius subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria, preeminet cunctis haec chronicarum chronica. Corpus terra tegit, spiritus astra petat; quo cernendo Deum cum sanctis regnet in aevum, Amen.⁵

Death of
Florence of
Worcester,
July 7.

Aecclesia apud Momerfeld a Gosfrido Herefordensi episcopo dedicata, omnes qui ad dedicationem venerant, domum redibant; verum post aeris serenitatem quae prius extiterat maxima, repente cum tonitruo orta est

Thunderstorm
at Momerfield.

¹ MCXL. xii.] The principal MSS. retain the dating of Marianus throughout the Continuation, together with the regnal years of the Emperor. In C. the latter are not recorded after 1127. 'Hic incipit continuatio chronici Florentii Wigorniensis,' C. *in marg.* (xvii. cent.).

² *monachus*] 'Gelasius papa est monachus, vide,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

³ *Mauricio*] In C. written in over an erasure.

⁴ *kal. Maii*] 'feria iiiia.' C. *add. sup. lin.*

⁵ *Non . . . Amen*] Here C. has three marginal notes: 'Hic obiit Florentius monachus Wygornensis cronographus valde eximius,' (xv. cent.). 'Sequitur eius Continuator qui vixit tempore Henrici 2ⁱ. Anglorum regis, ut constat p. 383,' (xvi. cent.). 'Non accedo, auctor enim ejus loci de Henrico non 2^o. sed primo agit. Et videtur regnante rege Stephano ut scribere sic vivere desiisse,' (xvii. cent.).

A. D. 1118
(*cont.*)

tempestas nimia ; qua perculsi quidam in itinere, dum loco in quem de-
nerant cedere non valerent, subsistebant. Erant numero v^o, tres viri et
ii^o. feminae, quarum una, ictu fulmineo percussa, occubuit ; altera vero
ab umbilico usque ad pedum vestigia misere percussa et ignita, decidit,
viris dumtaxat vix vitae reservatis. Quinque etiam caballi illorum fulmine
perculsi, interierunt.

A. D. 1119.
Calixtus II
pope.
Obits of the
year.

MCXLI. xiii.] Gelasius papa obiit¹, cui successit Guido Vien- [MCXIX.
nensis episcopus qui alio nomine Calixtus nominatus est. Gosfridus
Herefordensis episcopus iii^o. non. Feb. obiit, et Herebertus Norðwicensis
xi. kal. August.

War of Eng-
land with
France, Anjou
and Flanders.
Peace and
alliance with
Anjou.

Orto bello inter regem Anglorum Heinricum et regem Francorum
Ludovicum et comitem Andegavensium et comitem Flandrensium, ipse
rex H., inito oportunitatis consilio, anticipavit pacem facere cum comite
Andegavensi, accepta filia eius in uxorem filio suo Willelmo, quem iam
heredem totius regni sui constituerat. Comes idem Andegavensis Iero-
solimam adiit. Post haec rex H., consilio optimatum suorum, fecit
pacem cum rege Francorum, in qua pace accepit Willelmus filius eius
Normanniam, a predicto rege Francorum tenendam. Cum suis etiam
optimatibus qui iniuste et infideliter ab eo recesserant, et cum comite
Flandrensi fecit rex pacem. Terrae motus in pluribus locis per
Angliam factus est iii^o. kal. Octob., die dominica, circa horam diei
tertiam.

Peace with
France.
Peace with the
rebellions
Norman
nobles.

The Council
of Rheims,
Oct. 20.

Calixtus papa instituit generale concilium Remis, xiii^o. kal. Nov., ad quod con- Eadmer, 255.
cilium factus est multiplex arcepscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum et principum
diversarum provinciarum concursus, cum numerosa clericorum ac plebium multitudine.
Episcopi Angliae qui tunc temporis in Normannia cum rege degebant, Willelmus
videlicet Exoniensis, Rannulfus Dunholmensis, Bernardus Menewensis et Urbanus
Glamorgatensis et insuper episcopi et abbates Normanniae, ab ipso rege Anglorum
H. ad ipsum concilium directi sunt. Radulfus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ pre
infirmirate non potuit interesse.

English
bishops there.

Archbishop
Thurstan is
allowed to
attend the
Council,
but violates his
oath to the
King and is
consecrated by
the Pope.

Turstanus, electus Eboracensis arcepscopus, a rege licentiam petens
illuc eundi, tandem optinuit, ea tamen interposita fide, ut benedictionem episco-
palem a papa nulla ratione suadente susciperet. Tali sponsione ligatus iter arripuit, *fo. 373.*
et ad papam venit ; et mox, posthabita sponsione, Romanos in causam suam largitatis
officio transtulit, et per eos ut a papa episcopus consecraretur sua manu cooperante,

¹ *obiit*] 'et Cluniaci sepultus est,' C. *add. sup. lin.* H. in text.

- Eadmer, 257. impetravit. Consecratus est autem in pontificatum Eboracensem, et consecrationi eius plures e Gallia episcopi ad iussum papae interfuere. Episcopi vero Angliae, nondum ad concilium venerant; qui ubi quod factum est cognovere, regi nuntiavere. Commotus in furorem ille, Turstano et suis interdixit in Angliam et Normanniam redire, in omnemque locum dominationis suae.
- Eadmer, 259. MCXLII. xiii.] Radulfus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ii^o. non. [MCXX. Ian., feria i^a, Angliam revertitur et ii^o. non. Apr., dominica die, apud Westmonasterium consecravit in pontificatum Pangornensis aecclesiae quendam clericum venerandum, David nomine, electum a principe Griffino, clero et populo Waliae. Cuius consecrationi interfuere Ricardus episcopus Lundoniensis, Rotbertus Lincolniensis, Rogerius Saeresbyriensis, Urbanus Glammorgatensis.
- Eadmer, 288. Rex Anglorum H., omnibus prospere et ad velle peractis, a Normannia in Angliam redit, quem Willelmus filius eius sequi gestiens, navem ingreditur, copiosa nobilium, militum, puerorum, ac feminarum multitudine comitatus. Hi portu maris evecti, miraque aeris serenitate freti freto illapsi, in modico navis qua vehebantur rupem incurrens eversa est, et omnes qui in ea residebant, excepto rustico uno et ipso, ut ferebatur, nec nomine digno, qui mira Dei gratia vivus evasit, marinis fluctibus sunt absorpti. Quorum nobilissimi fuerunt hi, Willelmus regis filius, Ricardus frater eius, Ricardus comes Cestrensis, Othuel frater eius¹, Gausfridus Riddel, Walterus de Everci, Gosfridus Herefordensis arcidiaconus, filia regis comitissa de Perceio, neptis regis comitissa de Cestra, et alii quamplurimi quos brevitatis causa preterimus. Quae res et regis, prospero navigio Angliam venientis, et omnium qui audiebant, mentes exterruit atque turbavit, et de occultis iusti Dei iudicii in admirationem concussit.
- Eadmer, 290. MCXLIII. xv.] Rex Anglorum H., legalis coniugii olim nexu solutus, [MCXXI. ne quid ulterius inhonestum committeret, consilio Radulfi Cantuariorum pontificis et principum regni, quos omnes in Epiphania Domini sub uno Lundonie congregavit, decrevit sibi in uxorem Adhelizam², filiam Godefridi ducis Lotharingiae, puellam virginem decore modesti vultus decenter insignitam. Directi sunt nuntii, et futuram regni dominam summo cum honore de transmarinis partibus ad curiam regis adduxerunt.
- Inter haec electi sunt ad regimen aecclesiarum iamdudum viduarum clerici duo, assumpti de capella regis, Ricardus scilicet qui regii sigilli sub cancellario custos erat, et Rotbertus qui et ipse domino regi in cura panum ac potus strenue ministrare

A. D. 1119
(*cont.*)

Thurstan is
forbidden to
return.

A. D. 1120.
Archbishop
Ralph returns
home and con-
secrates the
bishop of
Bangor.

King Henry
returns from
Normandy.
Shipwreck and
death of hisson
William.

A. D. 1121.
King Henry
resolves to
marry Ade-
laide of Lou-
vain.
Arrival of
Adelaide.

Ecclesiastical
preferments.

¹ eius] 'Willelmus Bigod,' H. *add.*

² Adhelizam] In C. corrected from 'Atheleidem'. 'Atheleidem' H.

A. D. 1121
(*cont.*)

solebat. Horum prior Herefordensi, sequens vero Cestrensi¹ aeccliesiae prelatus Eadmer, 291
est. Herebertus quoque abbatae Westmonasterii monachus, ipsius loci abbas constituitur. Ricardus, vii^o. idus Ian., feria vi^a., electus, xvii^o. kal. Feb., feria i^a., apud Lamhetham consecratus est in episcopum a Radulfo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, cooperantibus sibi episcopis Ricardo Londoniensi, Rotberto Lincolniensi, Arnulfo Rofensi, Urbano Glammorgatensi, Bernardo Sancti David.

Marriage of
King Henry
and Adelaide,
Jan. 29.

Puella predicta, in regni dominam electa, iiii^o. kal. Feb., Sabbato, regi desponsatur a Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, iubente Rawlfo Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, et crastino die, iiii^o. kal. Feb., ab eodem arcipresule regina consecratur et coronatur.

Ecclesiastical
preferments.

Post hæc idem pontifex cum rege Abbandoniam veniens, iiii^o. idus Martii, Eadmer, 293.
die dominica, sacrauit supramemorum Rotbertum ad episcopatum Cestrensis² aeccliesiae, astantibus et cooperantibus huic sacramento Willelmo Wentano episcopo, Willelmo Exoniensi, Urbano et Bernardo episcopis Walensibus. Paucis diebus elapsis, electus est quidam de regis capella, Eoverardus nomine, ad episcopatum Northwicensis aeccliesiae et a Radulfo Cantuariensi pontifice, ii^o. idus Iunii, sacratur Cantuariæ, convenientibus pro hoc ipso Arnulfo Rofensi episcopo, Ricardo Herefordensi, et Rotberto Coventrensi.

Pope Calixtus
captures the
Anti-pope.

Calixtus papa, viribus undecunque collectis, supramemorum Mauricium, cognomento Burdinum, quem vocatum Gregorium in sede apostolica imperator cum suis fautoribus constituerat, cepit, eumque suis omnibus spoliatum, monasterio, ut monachus esset, contumeliose intrusit.

Eadmer, 294.
fo. 374.

King Henry
subjugates
Wales.
Consecration
of Gregory,
bishop of
Dublin.

Rex Anglorum H. super Walenses exercitum duxit, et acceptis obsidibus ab eis, totam Waliam suae dicioni subegit. Clericus quidam, natione Hiberniensis, nomine Gregorius, a rege Hiberniae, clero et populo in episcopatum Dublinæ civitatis electus, Angliam venit, antiquo pro more ordinandus ab archiepiscopo Cantuarie, Anglorum primate; quem ex precepto eiusdem arcipresulis, Rogerius Saeresbyriensis episcopus, apud castellum suum quod vocatur Divisio, xi^o. kal. Octob., Sabbato, ad diaconatus et ad presbiteratus promovit gradum. Ordinatus est autem episcopus, vi^o. non. Oct. feria i^a., apud Lamhetham a Radulfo Cantuariorum pontifice, eiusque consecrationi interfuere episcopi Ricardus Londoniensis, Rogerius Saeresbyriensis, Rotbertus Lincolniensis, Eoverardus Northwicensis et David Bangornensis. Principalis aeccliesia Teodekesbyrie ab episcopis Teowlfo Wigornensi, Ricardo Herefordensi, Urbano Glammogartensi

Eadmer,
297-8.

Consecration
of Tewkesbury
Church.

¹ *Cestrensi*] 'Coventrensi,' H.

² *Cestrensis*] 'Coventrensis,' H.

(*sic*) et a prefato Gregorio Dublinensi, viiii^o. kal. Novemb., feria ii^a., consecrata est summo cum honore.

MCXLIII. xvi.] Civitas Glaworna cum principali monasterio [MCXXII. vii^o. idus Mart., feria iii^a., denuo conflagravit incendio, anno regni regis Anglorum Heinrichi xxii^o.; siquidem primo quo regnare cepit anno, xi^o. kal. Iunii, feria v^a., combusta est primo. Dorubernensis archiepiscopus xxxv^{us}., Radulfus, xiiii^o. kal. Nov., feria v^a., Cantwarie vita decessit. Iohannes Bathoniensis episcopus iii^o. kal. Ianuarii obiit, qui adhuc vita comite ab H. rege D^{tis}. libris argenti totam urbem Bathoniensem mercatus est ¹.

A.D. 1122.
Gloucester
burnt, Mar. 9.

Obits of the
year.

MCXLV. xvii.] Rotbertus xviii^{us}. Lincoliensis episcopus, mense [MCXXIII. Ianuario, dum apud Wudestoke, equo sedens, cum rege Heinricho colloquium haberet, subito decidere cepit et ommutuit. Deportatus ad hospitium, morte improvisa obiit. Rannulfus quoque, regis cancellarius, miserabili obitu vita decessit. Vir eximie religionis, Willelmus canonicus Sanctae Osgithae de Cicc, ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem, Glaorne, ubi in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae rex tenuit curiam suam, eligitur, et a Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, pluribus cooperantibus episcopis, xiiii^o. kal. Martii, Cantuarie consecratur episcopus. Quo annuente, datus est ipso Quadragesimali tempore Lindicolinae civitatis episcopatus Alexandro Saeresbyriensi archidiacono. Postea idem archiepiscopus Willelmus, comitantibus secum Turstino Eboracensi archipontifice, Bernardo episcopo de Sancto David, Sigefrido Glaestoniensi abbate, Anselmo quoque abbate de Sancto Eadmundo, pro petendo pallio Romam ivit ². Alexander rex Scottorum, vii^o. kal. Maii, obiit.

A.D. 1123.
Obit.

Consecration
of William de
Corbeil,
archbishop of
Canterbury,
Feb. 16.

The Arch-
bishops of
Canterbury
and York go
to Rome.

Death of Alex-
ander, king of
Scotland,
April 25.

King Henry
goes to Nor-
mandy.

He is joined
there by the
two Arch-
bishops return-
ing from Rome.

Rex Anglorum Heinrichus, emensa festivitate Pentecostes, mare transiit. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Willelmus, suscepto pallio a papa Calixto, et Turstinus Eboracensis archipresul cum sociis, Roma redeuntes, ad regem in Normannia morantem venerunt; et non multo post archiepiscopus Willelmus Angliam redit et Alexandrum Lincoliensis aecclesiae, xi^o. kal. Augusti, Cantuarie, Godefridum vero cancellarium reginae, vii^o. kal. Sept., in aecclesia Sancti Pauli Apostoli Lundonie ³ consecravit

¹ *qui adhuc . . . est*] Apparently a later insertion by the author in C. H. *omit*.

² *ivit*.] Here ends the abridged *Chronicula* in MS. T.C.D., No. 503. The later interpolated continuation, G., now begins 'Alexander', &c.

³ *Apostoli Lundonie*] H. *omit*.

- A. D. 1123
(*cont.*)
Obits.
David, king of Scotland.
A. D. 1124.
Capture of Waleran of Meulan in Normandy.
Obits of the year.
- episcopum Bathoniensi aecclesiae. Teowlfus xxvi^{us}. Wigornensis aecclesiae antistes, xiii^o.¹ kal. Nov., Sabbato, apud Hamtun villam suam obiit. Rotbertus abbas Teodekesbyriensis aecclesiae, vi^o. idus Dec., vita decessit. Alexandro regi Scottorum successit David frater eius.² MCXLVI. xviii.] Arnulfus xxiii^{us}. Hrofensis episcopus, mense [MCXXXIII. Martio obiit³. Galerannus comes de Mellant, in ebdomada Dominicae Passionis, a militibus regis H. in Normannia captus, cum pluribus in artam custodiam Rotomagi detruditur. Gosfridus abbas Novi Monasterii, Wintonie obiit.⁴ Reverendus prior Wigornensis aecclesiae, Nicolaus nomine, viii^o. kal. Iulii, feria iii^a, obiit. Gaudeat in caelo qui, miserante Deo.⁵
- Honorius II, pope.
A. D. 1125.
Punishment of false moneyers.
Rise in prices, and resulting distress.
Ecclesiastical preferments.
Obit.
- Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ut rex mandaratur, mare *fo. 375.* transiit. Kalixtus papa obiit, cui Honorius, Ostiensis episcopus, successit. MCXLVII. xix.] Monetarii per Angliam cum falsa moneta capti, [MCXXV. truncatis dextris manibus et abscisis inferioribus corporis partibus, regis ferele subeunt edictum⁶. Mutatione postmodum monetae, cara facta sunt omnia. Hinc prevalida fames oborta, plurimam multitudinem hominum morte tenus affligit.
- Eximiae religionis et probitatis viri, Symon cancellarius reginae et Sigefridus abbas Glaestoniae, in episcopos eliguntur Normannie; Symon⁷ quidem ad episcopatum Wigornensem, Sigefridus ad Cice-strensem. Vir non modicae prudentiae, duorum episcoporum Wigornensium, Samsonis videlicet et Teowulfi, archidiaconus, Hugo nomine, xii^o. kal. Aprilis obiit.⁸
- Pascali festivitate emensa, Symon et Sigefridus, electi episcopi

¹ xiii^o.] xii^o. H. 'Teolphus, regis capellanus, xxvi^{us}. Wygorn. antistes obiit apud Hamptun villam suam,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

² Rotbertus . . . eius] H. *omit.* C. has in the margin of this annal 'In Suth Saxonia . . . locavit', *vide* W. Malm. G. P. ii, §§ 97, 98.

³ obiit] 'Radulfus Luffa Cicestrensis episcopus successor Willelmi successoris Stigandi vitae modum fecit,' C. *in marg.*, G. in text.

⁴ Gosfridus . . . obiit] H. *omit.*

⁵ Gaudeat . . . Deo] G. *omit.*

⁶ edictum] 'vel iudicium,' *add. sup. lin.* C., G.

⁷ Symon] 'Electus est Symon xxvii^{us}. Wygornensis ecclesie antistes et in hac cronica illius loci presul ultimus,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

⁸ Vir non . . . obiit] H. *omit.*

cum archiepiscopis Willelmo et Turstino et cardinali Romano Iohanne vocabulo, Angliam venere: et Sigefridus apud Lamhythe, ii^o. idus April., a Willelmo archiepiscopo ordinatur antistes Cicestrensi aeccliesiae, eiusque ordinationi interfuerunt Romanus cardinalis, Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Eoverardus Norðwicensis, Ricardus Herefordensis, Bernardus Sancti David, David Pangornensis, Urbanus Glammorgatensis et Iohannes Hrofensis electus episcopus. Symon electus presul Wigornensis, viii^o. idus Maii, die videlicet Ascensionis Dominicae, a clero et a populo cum festiva processione suscipitur Wigorne, et x^o. kal. Iunii a Willelmo archiepiscopo Dorubernie presbyter ordinatur Cantuuarie¹. Imperator Heinricus obiit et sepultus est Spira, ubi et avus eius.

Romanorum xcviij^{ma}. Hlotharius² regnavit annis [xii.]³ Symon electus Wigornensis episcopus, comitante Godefrido Bathoniensi episcopo, Cantwariam venit, et a Willelmo Cantuuariensi archiepiscopo, Sabbato ebdomadae Pentecostes presbyter ordinatur, et crastino cum magno honore sanctae matri Wigornensi aeccliesiae presul consecratur, cum quo Iohannes Cantwariensis archidiaconus ad aeccliesiam Hrofensem episcopus ordinatur. Quorum consecrationi interfuere Ricardus Herefordensis episcopus⁴, David Pangornensis, Godefridus Bathoniensis, Sigefridus Cicestrensis. Symon Wigorniam ad sui presulatus sedem veniens, maxima populi confluente multitudine, cum honorifica processione denuo suscipitur, inthronizatur, laus Summae Trinitati in illo concelebratur. Eodem die, id est ix^o. kal. Iun., Dei servus et in tota domu sua fidelis amicus, Benedictus nomine, anno preterito de priore electus abbas Teodekesbyriensi aeccliesiae, ibidem a puero nutritus in monachico habitu et processu temporis concessu domni Wlstani presulis, a quo omnes aeccliesiasticos ordines iamdudum susceperat, in pace et dilectione unus de cenobitis Wigornensibus effectus, ab eodem novo presule Simone novus abbas consecratur Wigornensi aeccliesiae; cuius consecrationi interfuere processionales susceptores eiusdem presulis, Ricardus Herefordensis, Godefridus Bathoniensis, David Pangornensis episcopi, et parrochiani sui, abbates Wido Persorensis, Willelmus Glaucestrensis, Godefridus

A. D. 1125
(*cont.*)

Return of the
Archbishops.
Arrival of
Cardinal John
of Crema.

Death of the
Emperor
Henry V.

Lothair II,
emperor.

Ecclesiastical
preferments.

¹ *et x^o. . . . Cantuuarie*] G. *omit.*

² *Hlotharius*] In C. corrected *sup. lin.* from 'Leodegarius'. In G. written in over an erasure. 'Leodegarius,' H.

³ *xii.*] In C. inserted later in a space originally left blank. G., H. *omit.*

⁴ *episcopus*] *sup. lin.* C. G., H. *omit.*

A. D. 1125
(*cont.*)

Wincelcumbensis et, pro abbate suo infirmitate depresso, domnus prior Eoveshamnensis Dominicus, prior etiam Malvernensis domnus Walcerus, illi inquam de quibus illud psalmographi potest pronuntiari: *Emittit Deus fontes in convallibus*, et totum processionale agmen quod antistiti obviam processerat.

Vulg. Ps. ciii.
10.

Synod held at
London, Sept.
9, under
Cardinal John
of Crema.

Celebrata est synodus Lundonie in aeclesia beati¹ apostolorum principis apud Westmonasterium mense Septembrio, nona die eiusdem mensis, id est v^o. idus Septemb., ubi post multarum discussionem causarum promulgata sunt haec² capitula et ab omnibus confirmata, numero xvii. Praefuit autem huic synodo Iohannes de Crema, sanctae et apostolicae ecclesiae de titulo Sancti Grisogoni presbyter cardinalis et domni papae Honorii in Angliam legatus, cum Wilhelmo Cantuariensi et Turstino Eboracensi arciepiscopis et cum episcopis diversarum provinciarum numero xx. et abbatibus circiter xl., et cum innumera cleri et populi multitudine. Sunt autem haec capitula:

fo. 376.

Canons of the
Council:

1. Simony for-
bidden.

Primum capitulum. Sanctorum patrum vestigiis inherentes, quenquam in aeclesia per pecuniam ordinari auctoritate apostolica prohibemus.

2. Payment for
sacraments
forbidden.

II. Interdicimus etiam ut pro chrismate, pro oleo, pro baptismo, pro penitentia, pro visitatione infirmorum seu unctione, pro communione corporis Christi, pro sepultura, nullum omnino pretium exigatur.

3. Exactions
by way of
perquisite for-
bidden.

III. Statuimus preterea et apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut in consecrationibus episcoporum, vel abbatum benedictionibus, seu in dedicationibus aeclesiarum, non cappa, non tapetae, non manutergium, non baccilia, et nihil omnino per violentiam nisi sponte oblatum fuerit, penitus exigatur.

4. Laymen not
to bestow
church or tithe
without the
bishop's leave.

IIII. Nullus abbas, nullus prior, nullus omnino monachus vel clericus, aeclesiam, sive decimam, seu quaelibet beneficia aeclesiastica, de dono laici, sine proprii episcopi auctoritate et assensu, suscipiat. Quod si presumptum fuerit, irrita erit donatio huiusmodi et ipse canonicae ultioni subiacebit.

5. Preferment
not to be held
by inheritance.

V. Sancimus praeterea ne quis aeclesiam sibi sive prebendam paterna vendicet hereditate aut successori sibi in aliquo aeclesiastico constituat

¹ beati] 'Petri,' G. add. The first of the readings of G. incorporated in Howard's text.

² haec] Erased in G., since that MS. does not record the canons, omitting from 'Sunt autem' to 'Placet', p. 22.

beneficio. Quod si prescriptum fuerit, nullas vires habere permittimus, dicentes cum psalmista, *Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam*, et sicut dixerunt, *Hereditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei*.

A. D. 1125
(cont.)

VI. Adicientes quoque statuimus ut clerici, qui aecclesias seu beneficia habent aecclesiarum, et ordinari, quo liberius vivant, subterfugiunt, cum ab episcopis invitati fuerint, si ad ordines promoveri contempserint, aecclesiis simul et beneficiis earum priventur.

6. Clerks shirking ordination to be deprived.

VII. Nullus in decanum, nullus in priorem, nisi presbyter, nullus in archidiaconum nisi diaconus, promoveatur.

7. Deans, Priors, Archdeacons, must be ordained persons.

VIII. Nullus in presbyterum, nullus in diaconum, nisi ad certum titulum ordinetur. Qui vero absolute fuerit ordinatus, sumpta careat dignitate.

8. Ordination without title forbidden.

VIII. Nullus abbas, nullus omnino clericus vel laicus, quenquam per aecclesiam in aecclesia ordinatum absque proprii episcopi iudicio, presumat eicere. Qui autem secus facere presumpserit, excommunicationi subiacebit.

9. Only bishops empowered to eject incumbents.

X. Nullus episcoporum alterius presumat parrochianum ordinare aut iudicare; unusquisque enim suo domino stat aut cadit; nec tenetur aliquis sententia non a suo iudice prolata.

10. Bishops not to interfere in other dioceses.

XI. Nemo excommunicatum alterius presumat in communione suscipere. Quod si scienter fecerit, et ipse communione careat Christiana.

11. Excommunication to be respected.

XII. Precipimus etiam ne uni personae duo archidiaconatus vel diversi ordinis tribuantur honores.

12. Against Pluralities.

XIII. Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, canonicis, uxorum, concubinarum, et omnino omnium feminarum contubernia auctoritate apostolica inhibemus; preter matrem, sororem, amitam, sive illas mulieres quae omni careant suspicione. Qui huius decreti violator extiterit, confessus vel convictus, ruinam proprii ordinis patiatur.

13. Clergy not to associate with women.

XIII. Usura et turpe lucrum clericis omnimodis prohibemus. Qui vero super crimine tali confessus fuerit aut convictus, a gradu proprio deiciatur.

14. Against Usury.

fo. 377. XV. Sortilogos, ariolos, et auguria quaeque sectantes eisque consentientes, excommunicari precipimus, perpetuaeque notamus infamia.

15. Against Sorcery.

XVI. Inter consanguineos seu affinitate coniunctos, usque ad []¹ generationem matrimonia contrahi prohibemus. Si qui vero taliter coniuncti fuerint, separentur.

16. Restriction of marriages.

¹ A blank space is left here in C. and H. Later codices read 'septimam'.

A. D. 1125
(*cont.*)

17. Husbands
not to plead
consanguinity.

Departure of
Cardinal John
of Crema.

Archbishop
William goes
to Rome to
expostulate.

He is there
made legate in
England and
Scotland.

A. D. 1126.

Court at
Windsor at
Christmastide.

The Arch-
bishop of York
claims equality
with Canter-
bury and is
humiliated.

The bishops
and nobles
swear fealty
to Matilda at
London.

Matilda recog-
nized as suc-
cessor to the
throne.

XVII. Interdicimus etiam ut viri proprias uxores de consanguinitate impetentes, et testes quos adducunt non suscipiantur, sed prisca patrum servetur auctoritas: *Placet vobis? Placet; Placet vobis? Placet; Placet vobis? Placet.*

Idem cardinalis, relicta Anglia, Normanniam vadit, ac demum revertitur Romam. Willelmus quoque archiepiscopus, considerans aecclesiam regni Anglorum in aecclesiae Cantuariensis humiliatione gravi scandalo consternatam, transit et ipse mare Romam iturus, rebus quae non aequae processerant, ne pari exorbitatione amplius procederent, opem pro posse laturus. Venit ergo Romam et ab Honorio summo pontifice qui Calixto successerat honorifice susceptus est; cui idem apostolicus vices suas in Anglia et Scottia commisit et apostolicae sedis legatum constituit.

MCXLVIII. i.] Rex Anglorum Heinricus, Angliam reversus, [MCXXVI. in Nativitate Domini curiam suam in castro quod Windleshora vocatur diviti apparatu celebravit, et illuc totius regni nobilitatem sua sanctione adunavit. Ubi cum Eboracae episcopus, in aequalitate archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, regem vellet coronare, exemplo antecessorum suorum, iudicio omnium repulsus est, et ad eum coronam regni nihil pertinere, una omnium sententia concorditer promulgavit. Lator insuper crucis quam in regis capella se coram fecit deferri, extra capellam cum cruce eiectus est: iudicio enim episcoporum et quorumque prudentium aecclesiasticas leges scientium probatum est ac roboratum, nulli metropolitae extra diocesim suam crucem facere¹ ferre ante se.

Finitis diebus festivioribus, rex ac tota quae confluxerat dignitas regni Lundoniam vadit, ibique ad iussum regis, Willelmus archiepiscopus et aecclesiae Romanae legatus, ceterique Anglicae regionis episcopi omnes, cum principibus terrae ipsius, fide et sacramento spoponderunt filiae regis se totum regnum Anglorum illi contra omnes defensuros, si patrem suum superviveret, nisi de legali coniugio filium qui sibi succederet, adhuc ante obitum suum procrearet. Ipsa siquidem, defuncto imperatore Heinricho qui eam per plures annos in matrimonio tenuerat, absque liberis, ad patrem suum reversa, circa illum excellenti, sicut decebat, honore fulciebatur. Rex igitur, Willelmo filio suo sicut olim descripsimus ex hac vita subtracto, alium qui regni heres legitime

¹ *facere*] 'licere,' G.

existeret necdum suscepit, et ea re in filiam suam, sororem scilicet Willelmi, conditione qua diximus, regni iura transferebat.

A. D. 1126
(*cont.*)

Ipsa etiam rex, consilio baronum suorum, concessit Cantuariensi ecclesiae et Willelmo archiepiscopo et omnibus successoribus eius custodiam et constabulationem castelli Roffi semper in posterum possidendam; et in eodem castello munitionem vel turrim quam voluerint sibi faciant, et in perpetuum habeant et custodiant; et milites qui custodiam eiusdem castelli deputati fuerint, intrent et exeant per vices suas sicut intrare et exire debuerint, et de eodem castello ei securitatem faciant.

Rochester
Castle com-
mitted to the
See of Canter-
bury.

Rotbertus, cognomento Peccatum, Conventrensis episcopus, vita decessit et Coventrie sepultus quiescit. Hugo abbas Sancti Augustini obiit.¹

Obits of the
year.

MCXLIX. ii.] Willelmus Dorubernensis archiepiscopus congregavit generale concilium omnium episcoporum et abbatum et quarumque religiosarum personarum totius Angliae apud monasterium Sancti Petri, in occidentali parte Lundonie situm. Cui concilio presedit ipse sicut archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et legatus apostolicae sedis, considentibus secum, Willelmo episcopo Wintoniensi, Rogerio Saeresberiensi, Willelmo Excestrensi, Herveo Eliensi, Alexandro Lincolniensi, Eoverardo Norðuicensi, Seifredo Cicestrensi, Ricardo Herefordensi, Godefrido Bathoniensi, Iohanne Hrofensi,² Bernardo de Sancto David Walensi, Urbano Glamorgatensi seu Landavensi, David Pangornensi. Ricardus Lundoniensis et Robertus Cestrensis³ iam obierant, nec aliquis in sedem illorum eo usque successerat. Turstanus autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus, directis nuntiis ac litteris, rationabili causa ostendit se conventui ipso adesse non potuisse. Rannulfus vero Dunholmensis episcopus, eo tendens, infirmitate correptus est, nec iter ceptum perficere potuit, sicut prior ecclesiae et clerici quos illuc direxerat sub testimonio veritatis attestati sunt. Wigornensis autem episcopus Symon ad parentes suos trans mare iverat, et nondum reversus erat. Confluxerant quoque illuc magnae multitudines clericorum, laicorum, tam divitum quam mediocrum, et factus est conventus grandis et inestimabilis. Sedit autem tribus diebus, id est, iii^o. idus Maii et die sequenti, tertioque post hunc qui fuit xvii^o. kal. Iun. Acta sunt

A. D. 1127.
Archbishop
William con-
venes a council
at Westmin-
ster, May 13-
16.

Archbishop
Thurstan and
other bishops
unable to
attend.

¹ Hugo . . . obiit] 'dominica die Passionis Domini subito paralisi percussus,' G. *add.*

² Ricardo . . . Hrofensi] G. *omit.*

³ Cestrensis] 'Coventrensis,' G., H.

A. D. 1127
(*cont.*)

ibi de negotiis secularibus nonnulla, quaedam quidem determinata, quaedam dilata, quaedam vero, propter nimium aestuantis turbæ tumultum, ab audientia iudicantium profligata¹. Quae autem communi episcoporum consensu in ipso concilio decreta sunt et statuta, sicut illic publice recitata sunt et suscepta, in hoc opere placuit annotare. Sunt igitur haec :

Canons of the
Council :

1. Against
purchase of
benefices.

I. Aecclesias et ecclesiastica beneficia seu quoslibet aecclesiasticos honores vendi vel emi, auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis et nostra, omnino prohibemus. Qui vero hoc preceptum violasse convictus fuerit, clericus quidem, etiamsi canonicus regularis sit vel monachus, ab ordine deponatur; laicus vero exlex et excommunicatus habeatur et eiusdem aecclesiae vel beneficii potestate privetur.

2. Orders not
to be bought.

II. Ordinari quenquam per pecuniam in aecclesia Dei vel promoveri, auctoritate sedis apostolicae modis omnibus interdicimus.

3. Admission
to religion not
to be bought.

III. Exactiones certas pecuniarum pro recipiendis canonicis, monachis, et sanctimonialibus, condemnamus.

4. Deans and
Archdeacons
to be in major
orders.

IIII. Nullus in decanum nisi presbyter, nullus in archidiaconatum nisi diaconus constituatur. Quod si quis ad hos honores infra predictos ordines iam designatus est, moneatur ab episcopo ad ordines accedere. Quod si iuxta monitionem episcopi ordinari refugerit, eadem ad quam designatus fuerat careat dignitate.

5. Clergy not
to associate
with women.

V. Presbiteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus et omnibus canonicis, contubernia mulierum illicitarum penitus interdicimus. Quod si concubinis, quod absit, vel coniugibus adhererint, aecclesiastico priventur ordine, honore simul et beneficio. Presbyteros vero parrochiales, si qui tales fuerint, extra chorum eicimus et infames esse decernimus. Archidiaconis vero et ministris, quibus hoc incumbit, auctoritate Dei et nostra precipimus ut omni studio et sollicitudine procurent ab aecclesia Dei hanc perniciem omnino eradicare. Quod si qui in hoc negligentes vel, quod absit, consentientes inventi fuerint, primo et secundo ab episcopis digne corrigantur, tercio vero canonice severius corripiantur.

6. Concubines
of clergy to be
expelled.

VI. Concubinae vero presbyterorum et canonicorum, nisi ibi legitime nupserint, extra parrochiam expellantur. Quod si postea culpabiles inventae fuerint, in cuiusunque territorio sint, a ministris ecclesiae capiantur, et sub excommunicatione precipimus ne ab aliqua potestate minore vel maiore detineantur, sed libere eisdem ministris aecclesiae

¹ *profligata*] What follows to 'cattinis', p. 25, G. *omit.*

fo. 379. tradantur et aecclesiasticae disciplinae vel servituti episcopali iudicio mancipientur.

A. D. 1127
(*cont.*)

VII. Ut nullus archidiaconus in diversis episcopatibus diversos archidiaconatus teneat, sub anathemate prohibemus; immo ei cui prius assignatus est tantum adhereat.

7. Arch-deaconries in plurality forbidden.

VIII. Episcopi, presbyteros, abbates, monachos, priores, subditos¹, firmam tenere inhiabant.

8. Clergy not to hold in farm.

VIII. Decimas, sicut Dei summi dominicas, ex integro reddi precipimus.

9. Tithes to be duly paid.

X. Ut nulla persona aecclesias vel decimas seu quaelibet alia aecclesiastica beneficia det vel accipiat sine consensu et auctoritate episcopi, canonica auctoritate vetamus.

10. Tithes and churches not to be bestowed without bishop's consent.

[XI.] Nulla abbatissa vel sanctimonialis carioribus utatur indumentis quam agnitis vel cattinis.

11. Nuns to dress soberly.

Rex igitur cum inter haec Lundonie moraretur, auditis concilii gestis assensum prebuit, auctoritate regia et potestate concessit et confirmavit statuta concilii, a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et sanctae Romanae aecclesiae legato, apud Westmonasterium celebrati.

The King confirms the Canons.

Hugo quidam nomine de episcopatu Hrofensi abbas institutus, a Willelmo Doruberniae archiepiscopo, in Cicestra, dominico qui fuit ii^o. idus Iunii, ad susceptae dignitatis gradum, quae est apud Sanctum Augustinum, merito honore promotus est. Ricardus Herefordensis episcopus xviii^o. kal. Sept., feria ii^a, apud suam villam quae vocatur Dydelebyrig² obiit, cuius corpus Hereford delatum³, sepelitur. Rex Anglorum Henricus mare transiit.

Ecclesiastical preferment.

Obit.

King Henry goes abroad.

MCL.] Turstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Rotbertum, [MCXXVIII.

A. D. 1128.

¹ *subditos*] 'subiectos,' H.

² *Dydelebyrig*] 'Ledeberia,' G. 'Ledbery,' H. *man. rec.*

³ *delatum*] 'cum coepiscopis in aecclesia sepelitur. Comes Flandrensis Karolus prima ebdomada XL^o. in aecclesia Sancti Donatii in oratione positus a suis iniuste perimitur, cuius suscepit comitatum Willelmus filius Rodberti comitis Normannorum cum maximo favore multorum populorum. Rex Anglorum Henricus mare transiit, Normanniam adiit et contra nepotem suum predictum Willelmum comitem Flandrensem magnum conflictum iniit. Inventio corporis Sancti Mathiae apostoli in civitate Treverensi in aecclesia Sancti Eucharrii archiepiscopi dominica ante Natale Domini quod Sanctus Aegricius archiepiscopus illuc attulerat de Constantinopoli tempore Constantini senioris ex dono Sancte Helenae reginae tempristive (*sic*) restituuntur. Rogerius de Berkelaio iunior iiii^o. kal. Nov. vita decedens, ante fores aecclesiae Sancti Petri de Gloecestria sepultus quiescit,' G. *add.*

A. D. 1128
(*cont.*)

Episcopal pre-
ferment.

Ralph, bishop
of Orkney.

Gilbert, the
Universal,
consecrated
bishop of
London, Jan.
22.

Great Council
at London,
April 29.

quem Alexander rex Scottie ecclesie Sancti Andreae intruserat, petente David fratre ac successore Alexandri, in episcopum Eboraci consecravit. In quo officio Rannulfum Dunholmensem episcopum et quendam Radulfum ad Orcadas insulas iam olim episcopum ordinatum, sibi adiutores asciverat. Qui Radulfus quoniam nec principis terrae, nec cleri, nec plebis electione vel assensu fuerat ordinatus, ab omnibus refutatus, et in loco pontificis a nemine susceptus erat. Hic quia nullius episcopus urbis, modo Eboracensi, modo Dunholmensi adherens ab eis sustentabatur, et vicarius utriusque in episcopalibus ministeriis habebatur. Ab his itaque Rotbertus consecratus, nullam ut dicitur professionem de quavis subiectione vel obedientia aecclesiae Eboracensi aut eius pontifici facere permissus a Scottis est, licet Eboracensis canonicus fuerit.

Quidam aecclesiae Lugdunensis canonicus, vir probus et grandaevus, electus est ad pontificatum aecclesiae Lundoniensis; defunctus siquidem fuerat Ricardus eiusdem civitatis antistes, et iste, Gilebertus nomine, cognomine vero Universalis, loco illius a rege Heinrico et Willelmo archiepiscopo annuente clero et populo substitutus erat. Sacratu est autem Cantuarie ab ipso archiepiscopo in matre aecclesia, xi^o. kal. Feb. die dominica, cooperantibus et ministrantibus sibi in hoc officio Seifredo episcopo Cicestrensi et Iohanne Hrofensi, sub presentia abbatum et aliarum magnarum et honestarum personarum pro hoc ipso Cantuarie convenientium, suscepta prius ab eo professione ex more antecessorum suorum, quam se illi et omnibus successoribus eius canonicam subiectionem et obedientiam per omnia exhibiturum fore promisit¹.

*De iuramento iam mutato in periurium, in multorum periculum.*²
Rex Anglorum Heinricus anno regni sui xxviii^o.³, in octavis Pascae quod

¹ *promisit*] What follows, to 'huiusmodi figuram', p. 28, omitted in the editions, occurs only in C. and G.; G. places it at a later position in its text but under an earlier date (1127). It is printed from the text of C. in Pertz, *M. G. H.*, xliii. 131-2. It is from this point that the text of C. appears to have been rewritten and added to by the author at a later date, *vide sup.*, p. 9. H. and the remaining MSS. exhibit the original version of the Continuation ceasing in 1131, while G. is peculiar in retaining the original version to 1131 and then appending C.'s additions, *vide inf.* notes 3, 5, p. 31.

² *De iuramento . . . periculum*] G. *omit.* The words occur also in the margin of C.

³ *xxviii*.] 'i.e. a die 5 Aug. 1127 usque ad d. 4 Aug. 1128, ita ut contextus vetus chronicorum et quos sequitur, Ann. Anglosax., magnum concilium Londoniense a. 1126, 1127 exhibentes, confutentur,' Edd. *ap.* Pertz. 'xxvii^o.' G. The date 1128 is retained by Simeon of Durham and in the Annals of Tewkesbury.

erat iii^o. kal. Maii, indictione vii^a.¹, concurrentibus vii^{em}. bissextilibus, epactis xxv^o, apud Westmonasterium Lundonie tenuit concilium. Cui presidebant duo metropolitani, Willelmus Dorubernensis, Turstinus Eboracensis, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, cum totius Angliae primoribus. Ubi de pluribus plurimis tractatis, quis, de medio facto rege et herede carente, in regendi regni statum succedat, communi consilio tractatur. Tandem ad velle regis consentiunt omnes, ut illius filia, Romanorum imperatoris Heinrichi relicta, cum legitimo suo, si habuerit sponso, in Christi brachio regnum Angliae sustineat. Et ut huiusmodi consilium stabile permaneat, ab omnibus fit iuramentum. Primo omnium iurant archiepiscopi², sicque per ordinem episcopi, Rogero Saeresberiensis presule diiudicatore omnium existente. Post episcopos more aecclesiastico, licet omne iuramentum a Domino sit prohibitum, abbatibus foret iurandum. At quoniam, a seductis in invio sepius vilipenditur cucullatus, sequitur ordo preposterus, non necessario, sed pro velle commutatus. Iurat rex Scottorum David; iurans etiam Anglorum regina filiae regis quae inpresentiarum erat iuratae prerogativae eo pacto assensum dedit, ut si rex in utroque sexu careret herede, si vero non in utroque, superstes qui foret regnum hereditaret. Rotbertum regis filium comitem Glocestrensem ad sinistrum pedem regis sedentem diiudicator allocutus, 'Surge,' inquit, 'surge et pro regio velle iuramentum effice.' At ille, 'Maior me,' inquit, 'natu prius id agat Stephanus comes Bononiensis,' hic ad dextrum pedem regis sedens. Quod et factum est. Iurant postmodum omnes comites, barones, vicecomites et quique nobiliores milites. Quo facto, diiudicator exclamat, 'Abbates procedant; iuramentum faciant.' Tunc exurgens vir reverendus abbas de Sancto Eadmundo nomine Anselmus respondit pro omnibus, graviter ferens in se et in socios preposterum ordinem iuramenti factum. 'Ecce,' inquit, 'O rex, *opprobria exprobrantium* nostro ordini *ceciderunt super* nos. En contra ius aecclesiasticum villipensis abbatum personis, laicales personas etiam nobis homagio subactos tuo iuramento preposuisti.' Ad hec rex, 'Est quod iam factum stet sicut cernitis actum. Fari cessate, mora nulla sit, appropriate, iurato teque vos, ut nos iuravimus omnes.' Abbates iurant; regem placent quia curant. Finito concilio, discessum agentes quique redierunt in sua.

A. D. 1128
(cont.)

The question of succession to the throne.

All present consent to swear fealty to the Empress Matilda.

The bishops take the oath of fealty.

David, king of Scotland, and Queen Adelaide of England take the oath.

Robert of Gloucester and Stephen of Blois take the oath.

The rest of the nobles swear fealty.

Protest by the Abbot of St. Edmund's.

The Abbots constrained to take the oath.

fo. 380.

Cf. Vulg. Ps. lxxviii. 10.

¹ vii^a.] 'vi^a.' G.

² archiepiscopi] G. omit. 'Primo omnium iurant episcopi per ordinem,' *ibid*.

A. D. 1128
(*cont.*)
All are thereby
made perjurers
in the next
reign.

Sed pro dolor, ecce videmus iuramentum versum in periurium. Terrentianum dictum est: *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*.¹ Verum licet hoc verum sit; novit Deus et Christus eius et utriusque Spiritus; si non vereretur regiae maiestati caput Iohannis² condemnari, assererem iuratores omnes periurio notari. Deus autem rerum cuius oculis nuda et aperta sunt omnia, ut bene scit et universis dominis melius vult, in misericordia et miserationibus ut optime novit cuncta disponat.³

King Henry
goes abroad.

Post modicum tempus rex Anglorum mare transit.

Remarkable
sun-spots.

Anno regni iii°. Leodegarii Romanorum imperatoris, regis vero Anglorum Heinrici xxviii°, olimpiadis cccclxx°. anno ii°, indictione vii°, luna xxv°. existente, vi°. idus Decembris⁴, Sabbato, a mane usque ad vesperam apparuerunt quasi duae nigrae pilae infra solis orbitam, una in superiori parte et erat maior, altera in inferiori et fuit minor; eratque utraque directa contra alteram ad huiusmodi figuram.⁵

Bishop Urban
of Llandaff
successfully
appeals to
Rome against
the bishop of
St. David's.

Urbanus Glamorgatensis seu Landavensis episcopus quia de quarundam rerum querelis quas anno preterito in generali concilio super Bernardum episcopum de Sancto David promoverat, non iusta erga se agi persenserat, emensa festivitate Purificationis Sanctae Mariae mare transiit, Romam ivit, apostolico papae causam itineris certa attestazione suorum intimavit. Cuius idem apostolicus votis ac dictis favit, regique Anglorum H., Willemo arciepiscopo et omnibus Angliae episcopis litteras direxit, omnibus apostolica mandans auctoritate, ut iustae exactioni illius nemo obstaret in aliquo. Vir venerandus abbas Seropberiensis Godefridus, xi°. kal. Aprilis, feria iiiia°, obiit⁶. Dorubernensis prior Gausfridus, rege Scottorum David petente et archiepiscopo Willemo annuente, abbas eligitur ad locum in Scottia qui Dunfermelin dicitur, et a Rotberto presule aecclasiae Sancti Andreae ordinatur. Urbanus Landavensis episcopus prospero reditu Angliam revertitur, regio iussu

Obits and pre-
ferments.

Return of
Bishop Urban;
the king gives

fo. 381.

¹ *Andria* I. i. 41.

² *Iohannis*] 'sc. baptistae, patroni, ut concicias, auctoris (LIEB.),' so Edd. *ap. Pertz*.

³ *Ad hec rex . . . cuncta disponat*] *G. omit.*

⁴ Dec. 8, 1127.

⁵ *ad . . . figuram*] *G. omit.* The phenomenon is figured in C.

⁶ *obiit*] 'Successerat iste primus reverendo et facundo viro Fulcheredo eiusdem loci fundatori et rectori primo, qui ex vita anno Dominicae Incarnationis MCXIX°. migraverat idibus Martii,' *G. add.*

apostolica mandata de eo complentur. Unus cenobitarum Seropberiensis aeccliesiae Herebertus abbas electus, a Willelmo arciepiscopo apud Leafes consecratur¹. Hugo Certesiensis abbas obiit². Comes Flandrensiu Willelmus nomine, Miser cognomine, ab hostibus circumventus vulneratur, et ingravescente dolore³, morte cunctis dolenda, vi^o. kal. Aug. defungitur et apud Sanctum Bertinum sepelitur⁴. Dunholmensis episcopus Rannulfus nonis Septembris obiit. MCLI.] Willelmus Wintoniensis episcopus viii^o. kal. Feb. [MCXXIX. defunctus Wintonie sepelitur.

Mense Iulio rex Anglorum H. de Normannia Angliam rediit⁵. Cuius nepos Glaestoniensis abbas Heinricus ad presulatum Wintoniensis aeccliesiae mense Octobri electus, a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo xv^o. kal. Dec., die dominica, consecratur episcopus. Rogerus nepos Gausfridi de Clintun Bucingchamnensis archidiaconus ad pontificatum Cestrensem electus, xii^o. kal. Ian. presbyter ordinatur et die sequenti a W(illelmo) C(antuariensi) a(rchiepiscopo) consecratur episcopus Cantuarie, quem postmodum ex precepto archiepiscopi Simon Wigornensis episcopus Coventrei presulari sede inthronizavit⁶. MCLII.] Eximiae vir religionis Glaocestrensis cenobita [MCXXX. Reignoldus nomine, abbas electus, ab eodem Simone Wigornensi episcopo, vi^o. kal. Feb., die lunae, ordinatur Wigorne⁷.

A. D. 1128
(cont.)

effect to the
papal injunc-
tions respect-
ing him.
Obits and pre-
ferments.
Death of
Ranulf Flam-
bard.

A. D. 1129.

King Henry
returns from
Normandy,
July.
Consecration
of Henry, the
king's nephew,
to the see of
Winchester,
Nov.
Ecclesiastical
preferments.

A. D. 1130.

¹ consecratur] 'ordinatur,' C. *add. sup. lin.* 'et aeccliesiae Seropesberienſi aetatis iure preficitur,' G., H. *add.* 'Decessit hoc anno reverendus Egeneshamensis aeccliesiae abbas Nigellus vii^o. id. Maii, successit ei Walterius,' G. *add.*

² obiit] 'xi^o. kal. Aug.,' G. *add.*

³ dolore] 'monachice religionis habitum suscipiens,' G. *add.*

⁴ sepelitur] 'Urbanus Clamorgatensis episcopus Romam iterum profectus, ibidem vita decedens vii^o. kal. Oct. inter corpora episcoporum sepultus quiescit. Gosfridus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus iiii^o. kal. Dec. vita decessit,' G. *add.*

⁵ rediit] 'Inde in concilio apud Lundoniam congregato in presentia eiusdem regis Henrici ex auctoritate apostolica confirmata est festivitas Conceptionis Sancte Dei genitricis Mariae,' G. *add.*

⁶ inthronizavit] 'v^o. id. Ian., die dominico,' G., H. *add.* 'Honorius papa obiit, cui Innocentius qui et Gregorius successit. Invasit quoque apostolicatum Petrus qui et Anacletus. Facta est tribulatio et turbatio magna in aeccllesia,' G. *add.*

⁷ Wigorne] 'et sic Eoveshamensi aeccliesiae abbatis iure preficitur,' G., H. *add.* What follows, to 'pulsabantur omnia', omitted in the editions, occurs only in C. 'Nota miraculum patefactum Wygornie de duobus hominibus et una muliere meritis beate Marie Dei genitricis et beatorum patronorum nostrorum Oswaldi et Wlstani,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

A. D. 1130
(*cont.*)

Remarkable
case of Ordeal
at Worcester,
Jan.

Qua etiam die quaedam memoriae digna, meritis Dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie sanctorumque patronorum nostrorum Oswaldi ac Wlstani divinitus acta sunt in nostra aecclesia . . .¹ diverso reatu iudiciali sententiae subacti. Duo erant laici et una femina. Hi precedenti die Sabbati qua celebrabatur Conversio Sancti Pauli apostoli, secundum ius aecclesiasticum ignitum portarant ferrum. Ferunt qui oculis perspexerant, mulieris manum intus et foris miro modo igne combustam. Sperantes simul in misericordia Dei Patris et maxime in meritis beati Wlstani pii antistitis, sepulchrum eius frequentant, genua flectunt, suffragia petunt, et velut ad excitandum eum in levamen sui, crebra percussione tumulto palmas imprimunt. Missa celebrata, dum in conspectu totius populi de illis discernendum² foret iudicium, unius post alterius ostensa manu, immaculata penitus quolibet reperitur. Hinc pro vicissim acta, manuum ostensione trina, cum *Te Deum laudamus* signa pulsabantur omnia.

Episcopal pre-
ferment.
Dedication of
Christ Church,
Canterbury,
May 4.

Hugo abbas Raedingcensis aecclesiae ad Rotomagum archiepiscopus eligitur. Aecclesia Christi Cantuarie, iiii^o. non. Maii, die dominica, a Willelmo eiusdem civitatis arcipontifice, dedicata est cum magno honore. Cuius consecrationi interfuere presules hi, Iohannes Hrofensis, Gilebertus Lundoniensis, Heinricus Wintoniensis, Simon Wigornensis, Alexander Lincoliensis, Rogerus Saeresberiensis, Godefridus Bathoniensis, Eoverardus Norðuicensis, Sigefridus Cicestrensis, Bernardus Mewanensis, Audoenus Ebroicensis transmarinus, Iohannes Sagiensis³. Quarto post haec die, id est non. Mai, presente H. rege, civitas Rofensis incendio conflagravit, dieque sequenti Dominicae Ascensionis, nova aecclesia Sancti Andreae consecratur a Willelmo archiepiscopo, suffragantibus sibi in hoc ministerio quibusdam de prefatis antistitibus. Religiosus prior de Laepes⁴ Raedingcensi aecclesiae abbas eligitur Wintonie, et postmodum ordinatur; prior etiam Wintoniensis aecclesiae, Ingulfus, apud Wudestoke abbas electus, a Rogero Saeresberienſi episcopo 'Abbandoniae abbas ordinatur⁵. Willermus Glaornensis abbas pre senectute pastoralis cura

Rochester
burnt, May 7.

Rochester
Cathedral
consecrated.
Ecclesiastical
preferments.

¹ *aecclesia* . . .] The beginning of the next sentence has been erased.

² *Dei Patris* . . . *discernendum*] Written in over an erasure.

³ *Sagiensis*] 'Rex Anglorum Henricus huic interfuit dedicationi. Abbates multi, populorum innumerabilium sexus uterque, omnis conditio,' G. *add.* This MS. also adds 'Rogerius Coventrensis' to the list above, omitting the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester.

⁴ *Laepes*] 'Ansgerus nomine,' G., H. *add.*

⁵ *ordinatur*] 'vi^o. id. Iunii, Saeresberiae,' G., H. *add.*

sponte ¹ dimissa, eiusdem aeccliesiae religiosum cenobitam Walterum cum consensu fratrum elegit; qui a Simone Wigornensi presule iii^o. non. Aug., die dominica, abbas ordinatur Wigorne ². Serlo quoque Saeresberiensis canonicus ab eodem antistite apud Blockeala villam episcopalem abbas ordinatur et Cirencestri aeccliesiae preficitur ³. Rotbertus prior reverendus Lantoniensis aeccliesiae ad Herefordensem presulatum electus a Willelmo Doruberniae archipresule consecratur Oxenofordie.

Rex Anglorum H. mare transiit ⁴.

fo. 382. MCLII.] Mense Febuario ⁵, xvii^o. die mensis id est xiii^o. kal. [MCXXX.⁶ Martii, paulo post noctis medium, visus est a duobus presbyteris et totidem clericis apud Herefordiam a laudibus nocturnis exeuntibus splendor insolitus ad mensuram unius perticae porrectus, in illa caelestis sperae parte qua sol esse solet circa finem x^{ae}.⁷ horae, cum in aestivo solstitio vergit ad occasum. Erat autem corpus illud unde splendor exibat ille alba tectum nube, et per breviam temporis intervalla sepius a nube prefata quasi exiliens ad superiora emergebatur, et post brevem moram iterum nubi immergebatur, quod non sine metu ac stupore cernebatur. Color quoque eius erat quasi de coloribus plenae lunae et lucidae flammae esset confectus. Forma vero et quantitas eius sicut brevis piramis, in inferioribus lata, et in superioribus angusta. Cunque illi qui haec viderunt

A. D. 1130
(cont.)

King Henry goes abroad.
Remarkable aerial phenomenon seen at Hereford and Brecon, Feb. 17.

¹ *sponte*] 'absque tamen sui conventus consensu,' G. *add*.

² *Wigorne*] 'Eodem mense rex Anglorum H. mare transiit. MCXXXI. Et anno sequenti mense Iunio Angliam rediit,' G., H. *add*.; G. continuing thence: 'Domnus abbas Willelmus post dimissam curam anno uno supervivens iii^o. id. Iulii de hoc seculo migravit ad Dominum.'

³ *preficitur*] Here follows in G. the account of the Great Council at London in 1128 (1127 *ibid*.).

⁴ *transiit*] 'Venerandi abbates Reignaldus Ramesiensis xiii^o. kal. Jun., et Willelmus Glaornensis, Herveus prius Bancornensis postmodum Eliensis primus episcopus iii^o. kal. Sept. obiit,' H. *add*. Here the first hand in H. ceases; the second hand continues: 'Stella cometis,' &c., *vide inf*., p. 36. The original version of the Continuation ended here.

⁵ *Mense Febuario*] What follows, to 'suburbani populi', p. 36, omitted in the editions, is found only in C. and G.; G. places it after its account of the Great Council at London; the chronology of that MS. is henceforth thrown into great confusion.

⁶ MCXXX.] The scribe, mistaking this for a new annal, originally wrote 'MCXXXI.' and continued to post-date each annal by one year, and subsequently two, to the end of the text. A contemporary hand, probably that of John himself, has corrected the error by erasing '1.' &c., except in the case of the annals of 1138 and 1139 where the correction is made in the margin.

⁷ x^{ae}.] C. *in marg*.; G. *omit*.

A. D. 1130
(*cont.*)

inclamassent, ut plures in hac re testes habere possent, tabula mediocris in longum erecta stare visa est super nubem in qua splendidum corpus illud fuerat, quod super ipsam nubem lumen ab initio sparserat, et in fine proximas sibi aquilonis partes inferius magna ex parte tenui luce repleverat, minus lucida quam locus in quo stabat. Inter haec venere quidam qui inclamati fuerant, et mox in eorum adventu omnis lux illa penitus est extincta, nisi paucissima ipsius vestigia quae vix in parte aquilonis tenuiter poterant videri. Qui autem prius prefatam lucem vidit, duas etiam in initio visionis lineas quasi auroralis luce plenas ab aequinoctiali solis ortu usque ad aequinoctialem eius occasum porrectas aspexit, sed pro pavore quem inde incurrit¹, et pro altera de qua dictum est visione cui totus intendit, neque quantum illae prefatae duae lineae duravere, neque quando discessere potuit agnoscere. Visa sunt ista in castello Herefordensi a clericis Sancti Guthlaci. Visa sunt etiam a vigilibus Breconaeunensis castelli; insuper in pago Herefordensi a pastoribus in ipsa nocte super gregem suum vigilantibus. Quae didici scripsi, salvet nos gratia Christi.²

Alarming ex-
periences of
King Henry in
Normandy.
A vision of
infuriated
rustics.

Heinrico Anglorum regi Normannie moranti, anno regni xxx^o., aetatis vero lxiiii^o., miranda in somnis apparuit visio. Triplex erat visio et a se diversa. *Prima visio*.³ Sopore gravatus rex obdormit, et ecce plurimam rusticorum multitudinem cum rusticanis instrumentis propter astare cernit. Omnes in illum diversis modis seuire, dentibus frendere, et nescio quod ab eo debitum exigere. Somno territus evigilat, nudis fortasse pedibus strato exilit, arma capit, eis quos somnians viderat vindicta inferre cupit, sed neminem invenit. Quo viso, qui regium latus observare debuerant fugiunt omnes. O qualis regia dignitas. En rex purpuratus cuius iuxta sententiam Salomonis terror est ut rugitus leonis a rusticis terretur in somnis. Cessa, rex, cessa neminem persequi, ad lectum redi, et ut maiora videas rursus obdormi. *Secunda visio*.⁴ Reductus in soporem, conspicit loricis indutam numerosam militum

Another vision
of armed and
threatening
knights.

¹ *incurrit*] 'cucurrit,' G. Here begins MS. Cott. Calig. A. vi., f^o. 230 '... qui inde cucurrit,' &c.

² *Quae . . . Christi*] G. *omit.*

³ *Triplex . . . Prima visio*] G. *omit.* 'Prosilit e lecto, dum regem visio terret. Arma capit surgens, hominem non vulnerat ullum,' C. *in marg.* The narratives which follow are the original source of the accounts in Bromton (*ap.* Twysden), Gervase, Higden, Capgrave, &c.

⁴ *cuius iuxta . . . visio*] G. *omit.*

cohortem, galeas capitibus ferentem, lancea, maceram, tela, sagittas manibus tenentem. Cerneret quisquis adesses, milites per somnium visos quasi velle regem occidere et in frusta si valerent concidere. Nimio rex terrore rex percussus in sopore, regiam totam horrendo replet clamore. 'Succurrite,' inquit, 'succurrite.' Sic clamitans, somnum oculis excutit, et prosiliens, gladium arripit, et affectans vulnerare, neminem vulnerat.

A. D. 1130
(cont.)

fo. 383. *Astant pontifices, abbates, necne priores, ceu perquirentes res aecclesiae spoliatas.*¹ Tertio satisfaciens rex somno, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, decanorum sive priorum aspectat personas, cum baculis pastoralibus astare. Intellectu perspicaci coniceret animum illorum in quendam transisse affectum et velut ob direptionem rerum aecclesiae suae manentem regiae misericordiae respectum. At personae considerantes terrificum habitum illius et quasi avertentem oculos ab eis minitendo plurima, baculorum cuspidibus cum appetere velle visi sunt. Haec mira videns vidit quidam in regiae aulae secreto angulo latens, scilicet sub nocturno tempore omnia tegit silentio. Erat itaque iste medicinae artis peritus, Grimboldus nomine, qui apud Wincelcumb, me presente et audiente, narravit haec omnia domno Godefrido² eiusdem aecclesiae abbati. Summo diluculo regem adhuc lecto cubantem idem vir adit, questionem de his quae viderat cum eo facit. Cui rex cuncta quae in somnis pertulerat enarravit, quae illae (*sic*) ut vir illustris prudentiae sed iam de medio factus, in vera coniectura exposuit, et ut Nabuchodonosor iuxta consilium Danielis egit, elemosina peccata redimere commonuit.³

A third vision of aggrieved prelates.

Grimbold the royal physician present.

He related the story afterwards to the Abbot of Winchcombe in the presence of the writer.

Actum est⁴ post haec in uno dierum rex idem Henricus Angliam rediturus, cum regali curia in navim ascendit. Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut navis operiretur fluctibus, erat enim eis ventus contrarius. Proh dolor, Iesus dormiebat omnibus. Veritus rex imminens funus, ut Rex regum in misericordiis evigilet sibi que suisque suc(ur)rat, in regno Angliae Danicum tributum vii^{em}. annis non exigi decernit.

King Henry returning from Normandy is overwhelmed by a storm at sea.

On his vowing to withhold Danegeld for

¹ *Astant . . . spoliatas*] G. omit.

² *Godefrido*] Hardy argues, *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, ii. 215, that these events must have taken place before the year 1123, on the erroneous assumption that this was the Godfrey who was consecrated bishop of Bath in that year.

³ 'Huius visionis sive insomnii, sed strictius, meminit et Henricus de Knighton canonicus Leicestrensis ad hunc annum, vid. lib. 2, cap. 9,' C. *in marg.* (xvii. cent.). Knighton took his account from the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth in MS. Corp. Chri. Coll. Cambs. vi.

⁴ *Actum est . . .*] For what follows cf. Vulg., Matt. viii. 23, Luc. viii. 22 seqq.

A. D. 1130
(*cont.*)

seven years
and to go on
pilgrimage to
St. Edmund's
the storm
ceases.

He performs
his vows.

But King
Stephen, after
promising to
abolish Dane-
geld, continues
to exact it.

A. D. 1131.
Remarkable
story of Count
Norman and
his daughter
Odilia.

Votum etiam vovit in orientales partes Angliae se diversurum, Sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris patrocinia imploraturum, omnemque iustitiam per Angliam servaturum. Quo voto, facta est tranquillitas magna. Angliam veniens congaudentibus cunctis vota persolvit. Hoc etiam rex Stephanus qui nunc imperat¹ in regali decreto suo promisit, Danicum scilicet tributum se nullatenus exacturum. Verum in Deo odibili periurio, auribus hausi tributum per Angliam exigi.² Hoc nefandum scandalum movet veridicum dictum, sicut compositum est.³ Sepe facit reges nummus pervertere leges. Si reus es mortis dampnatus ab ore co(h)ortis, nummos presenta, da quinque decemve talenta; talia si dederis, quam cito liber eris.

MCLIII.] Annus⁴ cycli decennovenalis iii^{ti}. xiii^{us}, cycli solaris [MCXXXI. iii^{ti}. xiii^{us}, bissextilis vi^{ti}. annus i^{us}, Romanorum imperatoris Lotharii et Anglorum regis Heinrichi temporibus, quidam comes erat in partibus Alamanniae cui nomen Normannus, potens et dives, habitans in oppido Honburch nomine, habens filiam vocabulo Odiliam a nativitate cecam. Hanc, cum esset parvula, misit ad quandam villulam suam longe remotam, ignominiosum valde reputans, si in eadem villa qua ipse manebat nutri-retur. Quae cum adolevisset, lasciviam modis omnibus fugiens, in bonis moribus prout poterat diligentissime Domino serviebat. Habebat autem *fo. 384.* fratrem unum, qui eam tenerrime diligens, multotiens patrem ut revocaretur orabat, sed nullatenus impetrare valebat. Tandem consilio cum familiaribus suis habito, ignorante patre ubi ipse manebat, profectus, secum reduxit eam, et in quadam domo quae curiae patris eius erat contigua, commendavit. Quo facto venit ad patrem, pro reditu sororis suae sicut ante consueverat deprecatur, sed ille inflexibilis persistens, non acquievit. Unde filius ira commotus, ad patrem, 'Velis,' inquit, 'nolis, per me revocata in proximo mansionem accepit.' His auditis, nimio furore pater accensus, baculo quem manu tenebat filium in capite percussit

¹ *qui nunc imperat*] The passage referred to by the annotators in C. s. a. 1118, *vide sup.* note 5, p. 13.

² *auribus . . . exigi*] 'sicut audivimus rursum tributum exigitur per Angliam,' G., which omits what follows, together with the date 1131, to 'Romanorum'.

³ *sicut compositum est*] The drawings which illustrate these events in C. were evidently made before the text, which surrounds them, was written.

⁴ *Annus cycli . . . alio*] *Vide* Pertz, *M. G. H.*, xiii. 132-3. 'Et nomina et saecula omnino confunduntur,' Edd. *ibid.*

et occidit. Protinus ad se reversus, malum quod egerat expavit, paucisque diebus exactis, iuxta aecclesiasticam institutionem penitentiam suscipit agendam. In qua cum modicum tempus exegisset, infirmitate correptus, obiit. At filia eius pro eo quod necdum dimidia penitentia peracta defunctus esset, graviter afflicta diebus ac noctibus in ieiuniis, vigiliis et orationibus pro redemptione animae Domini misericordiam implorabat. Quod dum ageret, nocte quadam angelus Domini per visum ei assistens, ait, 'Si diligentius quam facis pro anima patris tui Dominum oraveris, cito ad corpus suum revertetur, ut iniunctam sibi penitentiam expleat, eaque peracta in bona conversatione denuo migrabit a corpore.' His dictis, angelica visio disparuit. Illa autem protinus evigilans, et quae per visionem audierat mente pertractans, cepit modis omnibus quibus poterat, ieiuniis, vigiliis et precibus Dei misericordiam implorare ut, sicut angelus ei promiserat, patrem suum recipere mereretur. Quod dum aliquantum temporis in huiusmodi afflictionibus peregisset, ecce die quadam coram omni familia qui defunctus fuerat aulam intravit, sola indutus camisia, salutatisque omnibus qui aderant ne timerent hortatur. 'Ecce,' inquit, 'Deus omnipotens reddidit mihi vitam, ad peragendam penitentiam.' Subsequenti vero die peregrinationem aggressus, postquam legitimam explevit penitentiam, domum regressus, aecclesiam in honore Sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae construxit, in qua sanctimonialibus ad serviendum Deo congregatis, filiam suam Odiliam, iamdudum divinitus illuminatam, abbatissam constituit. Postmodum domu sua in omnibus ordinate disposita, sicut angelus predixit, in pace quievit. Camisia vero qua induebatur dum familiae suae vivus apparuit, in eadem aecclesia ad indicium huius miraculi iuxta principale altare posita servatur, gravissimo foetore respersa, et ad instar favillae colorata. Hanc si manu palpaveris, nulla ratione poteris¹ cuius sit generis aut texturae. Denique foetorem eius conversantes ibidem propter assiduitatem non sentiunt, sed aliunde venientes statim in ipso aecclesiae introitu non sine gravi horrore naribus trahunt. Preterea virgo nobilis Odilia post mortem patris in sancta conversatione persistens, commanentes sibi bonorum operum informabat exemplis, expletoque dierum suorum curriculo, feliciter iduum Decembrium die, feria ii^a, migravit ad Dominum. In cuius festivitate quae ipso die colitur, biduo ante induitur

¹ *poteris*] 'cognoscere,' G. *add.*

A. D. 1131
(*cont.*)

unus de familia aecclesiae camisia supradicta, et ad compunctionem intuentium in medio populi qui ad solennitatem convenerit, huc illucque deambulat, herbas odoriferas sine intermissione naribus adhibens, ne foetore camisiae periclitetur. Is etiam vii^{em}. diebus ante solennitatem ad eundem quem diximus foetorem camisiae¹, in omni quo vescitur cibo, crudo utitur allio.

A. D. 1132.
Death of
Uhtred, pre-
centor of
Worcester
Cathedral,
April 2.
His affection
for the writer.

MCLIII.] Eximiae vir religionis et reverentiae Wigornensis [MCXXXII.² cenobita, Uhtredus nomine, a beato et cum omni honore nominando Wlstano presule olim temporis cantor constitutus Wigornensis aecclesiae, iiii^o. non. Aprilis, Sabbato ante Palmas, modum fecit huic vitae. Et quoniam ex Dei gratia memoriae digno fine quievit, tum pro rogatu fratrum, tum pro dilectione qua me velut nutritoris vice dilexerat, dignum duxi notitiae omnium tradere, qualiter ex Egipto migraverit. Functus quampluribus annis precentoris officio, omnibus se vicarium exhibebat in Dei servitio. Viribus tandem corporis destitutus, paralisis morbo sepius gravabatur. Anno sui decessus singulis fere diebus in spiritu humilitatis ob remissionem peccatorum a ii^{bus}. vel a iii^{bus}. fratribus crebris et acerrimis verberibus corpus macerari fecit. Sabbatum predictum illuxerat, quo de seculo migraturus erat. In Domino Deo suo confisus et confortatus, ad missam in choro solito more stabat. Officium *Liberator meus*, *Kyrrieleyson* et sequens gradale³ inchoabat. Lateri eius stans adhibebam. Lecto evangelio, offertorium *Benedictus es, Deus* incepit, et vocatus a Deo paulatim cadere cepit. Quem protinus in dolore cordis excepi manibus. Stupefacti fratres accurrunt. Quos rogat ut poterat, quo in altaris presentia sibi mori liceat. Deportatus denique in domum infirmorum, vespertinali completa synaxi, singulis diebus prius et eodem ipso die⁴ corpore et sanguine Domini communicatus, commendat spiritum in manus Creatoris. Humatur crastino a venerando Wigornensi presule Simone, in conspectu cleri et totius suburbani populi⁵. Stella cometis viii^o. idus Octob. fere per v^o. dies apparuit.

He dies sud-
denly during
Mass, when
the writer is
present.

A. D. 1133.

MCLVI.] Maxima pars Lundonie civitatis cum principali [MCXXXIII.

¹ *camisiae*] 'mitigandum,' *suppl.* Edd. *ap.* Pertz.

² MCXXXII.] G. omits this date.

³ *gradale*] 'id est responsoriis,' C. *add. sup. lin.*

⁴ *singulis . . . die*] G. *omit.*

⁵ *populi*] Here G. begins its annal of 1132. Here also begins the second hand in H., but that MS. omits the dates 1132, 1133 altogether.

fo. 185. aecclesia beati Pauli apostoli in eptomada Pentecostes, quod erat ii^o. idus Maii, igne combusta est.

A. D. 1133
(*cont.*)

Great fire at
London, May
14.

Extraordinary
aerial pheno-
mena when
King Henry is
about to cross
the channel,
Aug. 2.

Anno xxxiii^o. ex quo rex Anglorum Heinricus regnare cepit, feria iii^a, die etiam ipso secundum anni revolutionem quo frater et predecessor illius, Willelmus, scilicet Rufus rex, interfectus est et ipse H. primo regni sui¹ suscepit gubernacula, tale constat contigisse spectaculum. Cum igitur rex predictus circa maris litus transfretandi causa moraretur, vento sepius ad transfretandum existente secundo, tandem die prefato circa meridiem cum ad mare transiturus perrexisset, suorum ut mos est regibus constipatus militum turmis, subito in aere nubes apparuit, quae tamen unius eiusdem quantitatis per universam Angliam non comparuit. In quibusdam enim locis quasi dies obscurus videbatur, in quibusdam vero tantae obscuritatis erat, ut lumine candelae ad quodlibet agendum ipsa protecti homines indigerent. Unde rex latusque regium ambientes et alii complures mirantes, et in caelum oculos levantes, solem ad instar novae lunae lucere conspexerunt, qui tamen non diu se uno modo habebat. Nam aliquando latior, aliquandiu subtilior, quandoque incurvior, quandoque erectior, nunc solito modo firmus, modo movens, et ad instar vivi argenti motus et liquidius videbatur. Asserunt quidam eclypsim solis factam fuisse. Quod si verum est, tunc sol erat in capite draconis, et luna in cauda, vel sol in cauda et luna in capite in v^o. signo, in xvii^o. leonis gradu ipsius signi. Erat autem tunc luna xxvii^a. Eodem etiam die et eadem hora, stellae quamplurimae apparuere. Necnon eodem die cum naves ad predicti regis transitum paratae in litore anchoris firmarentur, mari pacatissimo ventoque permodico existente, cuiusdam navis magnae anchorae a terra quasi vi aliqua subito avulsae sunt, navisque commota, multis mirantibus eamque tenere nitentibus nec valentibus, sibi proximam navem commovit, et sic viii^o. naves vi ignota commotae sunt, ut nulla illarum illesa remansisset. Multi quoque dixerunt se eodem die et circa eandem horam in Eboracensi provincia aecclesias quamplures quasi sudore pervalido madefactas². Haec omnia iiii^{to}. non. Aug., iiii^{ta}. etiam feria, ut dictum est, contigerunt. Sexta autem feria eiusdem septimanae, scilicet ii^o. non. eiusdem mensis, summo mane in pluribus Angliae partibus terrae motus factus est magnus.

The royal
ships at anchor
violently dis-
turbed.

Earthquake,
Aug. 4.

¹ *sui*] 'anno,' G. *add.* 'iii^o. non. Augusti,' H. *add.*

² *madefactas*] 'vidisse,' H. *add.*

A. D. 1133
(*cont.*)
Further por-
tents, Aug. 8.

Fuerunt etiam qui dicerent se in subsequenti eptomada, feria ii^a, sexto videlicet idus mensis eiusdem, cum luna foret iii^a, ipsam vidisse primam qualis in tali aetate esse solet, parvoque intervallo vespere eiusdem se ipsam vidisse magnam, ad modum scuti rotundi, valdeque rutilantis. Dicebant quoque plures se ipsa nocte vidisse duas lunas inter se quasi longitudine hastae unius distantes.

King Henry
crosses to
Normandy.
Worcester
burnt.

A. D. 1134.
Death of Duke
Robert at
Cardiff.

Rex autem Heinricus mare transiens reliquit Angliam, petit Normanniam, non ulterius vita comite rediturus vel visurus Angliam. Mense Novembri civitas Wigornia, ut crebro solet, incendio conflagravit¹.

MCLVII.] Rotbertus frater regis Heinrici, quondam comes [MCXXX. . .² Normannie sed postmodum ab illo Normannie morante apud quoddam castrum quod Tenercebrei dicitur³ in bello captus, et diu in custodia per Angliam positus, apud Cairdif defunctus, Glaornamque deportatus, in pavimento aeccliesiae quod est ante altare,⁴ magno cum honore sepelitur.

Obit and pre-
ferment.

Godefridus Bathoniensis episcopus obiit⁵, cui processu temporis successit quidam monachus Rotbertus nomine, Flandrensis genere, sed natus in partibus Angliae⁶. Ex monacho fit episcopus Rotbertus, sic enim disposuit Wintoniensis episcopus Heinricus, non tunc sed nunc⁷ Romane aeccliesiae legatus.

Capture and
death of
Christian
knights at the
hands of a
Saracen leader
in Apulia.

Referebant⁸ qui bene noverunt ea tempestate quendam in Apulia fuisse Saracenum, a Christiana fide alienum, impietate plenum, indeficienti philargiria secularibus inhians rebus. Hostili manu fines Christianorum invadens devastabat; binos captos baptizatos secum ducens, in magna animi alacritate ad propria remeat. Ferreis vinculis

¹ *conflagravit*] 'Hic civitas Wygorna exurit ut sepe antea contigit.' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

² MCXXX. . .] So C., where the corrector has erased the 'v' originally written but omitted to substitute 'iv', *vide sup.* note 6, p. 31. 'MCXXXIIII,' H.; G. however begins its annal of 1133 at this point.

³ *Normannie morante . . . dicitur*] H. *omit.*

⁴ *deportatus . . . altare*] H. *omit.*

⁵ *obiit*] 'xvii^o. kal. Sept.,' G. *add.*

⁶ *Angliae*] 'Normanniae,' G.

⁷ *nunc*] *i.e.* after March 1, 1139. 'Non tunc . . . inserere curavi,' p. 39, H. *omit.*

⁸ *Referebant . . . curavi*] *Vide* Pertz, *M. G. H.*, xiii. 133. 'Qualiter duo Christiani a quodam Saraceno capti sunt; quorum unus pro fide christiana marturitus coronatur, alter fidem negando miserrime vitam finivit,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.). The story is omitted in the editions.

A. D. 1134
(*cont.*)

artatos incarcerat. Satisfaciendarum epularum dies illuxerat. Cum nobilibus residens ad mensam Saracenus, ut Christianam fidem illudat, unum de incarceratis ut erat vinculatus adduci et inpresentiarum sistere mandat. Adductus miles Christianus venit totus pavidus, in Domino Deo suo totus tamen confisus. Corporis trepidat infirmitas, mentis autem quam habet in Deum solidatur firmitas. Suadetur abnegare Christianitatem. Renuit hoc ille ob nanciscendam regni caelestis sullimem dignitatem. Hinc ira succensum diabolicum menbrum (*sic*), mandat *fo. 386.* ilico monstruosum parari tormentum. In presentia convivantium vermis attrahitur non corpore longus, sed horridus totus, grossus et velut coluber tortuosus. Astanti Dei servo ex omni parte nudo monstrum illud nunc sursum, nunc iusum, nunc hac, nunc illac se retorquens morsus infigere querit. At quoniam athleta divinus lignum erat vergens ad austrum, penitus illum mordere nequit. Fortassis enim quod horridus horreat, in Dei famulo toto Deo signato spectat,¹ quod etiam in sancto corpore morsus omnino negat. Hoc viso, iussu tyranni vermis absentatur, Dei vero servus denuo vinculatus incarceratur. Subintroducto postmodum carceris socio, de neganda fide tyrannicus sermo perorat. Miser ille et miserandus quia lignum vergens ad aquilonem potius eligit fidem Christi negare, quam vermiferum morsum tolerare. Non credens verbis furor tyrannicus mandat miserum vermi proci dilacerandum; cuius moribus ilico totus dilaniatur, et de medio factus pro infidelitate tartareis cruciatibus immergitur. Alter vero habitans in adiutorio Altissimi representatur, ad stipitem tyrannico iudicio ligatur, a teliferis pro fide saggittatur et sic in martyrii gloriam vita privatur. Haec olim exulans Wincelcumbe, ab ore doctissimi viri abbatis de Sancto Walarico audiivi, et huic chronicae nostrae inserere curavi.²

MCLVII.] Rex Anglorum Heinricus annis xxxv^o. et iii^{or}. [MCXXXV.³ mensibus exactis ex quo regnare cepit, anno aetatis lxviii^o., iii^o. non. Dec. obiit, cui Stephanus sororis suae filius electus in regnum Angliae a Willelmo archipresule Doruberniae xi^o.⁴ kal. Ian., die dominica, rex consecratur Lundonie, ubi in Dominicae Nativitatis clementi gratia et

The abbot of St. Valery told the story to the writer at Winchcombe.

A. D. 1135.
Death of King Henry, Dec. 2.
Succession of Stephen.

He is consecrated at

¹ *Deo . . . spectat*] 'Dei signaculo signato spectat,' G.

² *Haec olim . . . curavi*] G. omit. 'Sancto Walarico,' *vide* Pertz, note *ibid*.

³ MCXXXV.] G. omits this date. 'Obiit Henricus rex post Conquestum primus cui successit Stephanus filius sororis suae,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

⁴ xi^o.] 'xiii^o,' corrected to 'xi^o.', C.; 'xiii^o.', G., H.

A. D. 1135
(*cont.*)

London, and
holds his court
there.

A. D. 1136.
Burial of the
late king at
Reading.

in regia prerogativa cum totius Angliae primoribus curiam suam tenuit¹. Qua sacrosancta emensa festivitate, regis Heinrichi nuper defuncti corpori MCLVIII.] de Normannia Angliam delato, non modica stipatus [MCXXXVI. nobilium caterva² rex obviat, et ob amorem avunculi regias scapulas feretro supponens, cum baronibus suis³ corpus Raedingum deportari fecit. In missarum celebrationibus et oblationibus diversis ac pretiosis, in elemosinis pauperum numerosae multitudini expensis, exequiis rite celebratis, menbrisque (*sic*) feretro expositis, tumulto ex more composito, in beatissimae ac gloriosissimae virginis Mariae principali aeclesia, quam ipse rex H. pro remedio animae suae terris, silvis, pratis, pascuis, ac variis ditarat ornamentis, ante altare magna honorificentia regia reconditur gleba. Rex hic Heinrichus terrenis rebus opimus, ereptus penis, caeli potiatur amoenis.⁴

Lamentable
state of Eng-
land after
Stephen's
accession.
Civil War and
oppression.

Castle build-
ing.

Violence and
devastation,
especially in
Wales.

On all sides
lust for money
and power.

Quo sepulto, et Stephano regnante, nec non multo ante ubique locorum per Angliam et Normanniam dirupto pacis foedere plurima fit distirbatio. Quisque in alterum caput elevat. Quae oritur discordia in vastando omnia nobilium et ignobilium, alta, magna, ac diversa subintrat moenia. Quisque alium rebus spoliatur. Potens impotentem vi opprimit. Questum super hoc agentem minis territat. Neci traditur qui resistit. Opulenti regni optimates divitiis affluentes minime procurant quam impie tractentur miseri. Sibi suisque dumtaxat consulunt. Vitae necessariis castella et oppida muniunt; manu militari cum armis instruunt. Timent regni mutationem, non animo supernam perpendentes dispositionem; *Investigabiles enim sunt viae Eius*.⁵ Dum autem ob regum terrorem, rugitui leonis comparandum, omnia deberent paci cedere, iam in pluribus locis, et maxime in Walia, depopulatio et depredatio minime cessat⁶. Hinc conicere quis poterit, quod mediocri prudentia imbecillique fortitudine, et magis iniustitia quam iustitia a quibus regi deberet, regitur Anglia. In regnante avaritia et in cuiuslibet honoris ambitione pessima, vix aliqua intercurrit, quae mater est virtutum, temperantia.

Vulg. Rom. xi.
33.

¹ *tenuit*] Here G. begins its annal of 1134. Both G. and II. omit the date MCXXXVI. in C. below.

² *caterva*] 'vel turma,' C. *add. sup. lin.*

³ *suis*] 'nonis Ianuarii,' G. *add.*

⁴ *Rex hic . . . amoenis*] G. *omit.*

⁵ *Quae oritur . . . viae eius*] G. *omit.*

⁶ *cessat*] Here G. begins its annal of 1135, omitting what follows to 'temperantia'.

Rex Anglorum S. equestri milite et pedestri exercitu armato Domniam penetrat, longi temporis spatio Exancestre castellum obsessus, quod Baldwinus de Redvers cognomine contra regiam maiestatem munierat. At demum his qui intus erant, necessariis deficientibus, dextris datis et acceptis, ipse Baldwinus cum uxore et filiis exheredatur et Anglia expellitur¹.

A. D. 1136
(*cont.*)

Stephen besieges Exeter.

Surrender and banishment of Baldwin de Redvers.

Obits of the year.

Dorubernensis archiepiscopus Willelmus apud villam suam quandam defunctus, Cantuarie sepelitur. Vir magnae prudentiae, Wido Persorensis abbas, obiit.

fo. 387. MCLIX.] Magnae religionis et castitatis vir Benedictus Theodokesberiensis aecclisae abbas obiit. Hic Dei servus in beatissimae ac gloriosissimae Virginis Dei genitricis servitio totus erat devotus. Diatim nanque horis decantatis aut missam ipse festive celebrare aut audire solebat in illius honore. Non secus agentem novimus domnum priorem² Wigornensem. Et quis speravit in ea, et desertus est ab ea? Nemo, inquam, nemo. Abbas predictus Sanctissimae Mariae capellanus dum exitum ageret ex Egypto, alter capellanus apud villam nostram Linderyche dictam somnium per noctem sumpserat. Cui astitit in visione persona evangelicans ei nuntia bona. 'Surge,' inquit, 'surge; Teodokesberiensis abbas, Sanctae Mariae capellanus, in proximo modum faciet vitae. Et tu capellanus eius es, licet non tanti nec talis meriti.' Hoc tertio factum est. Evigilans ille, illustri cuidam monacho prope quiescenti somnium narravit. Quod ipse ex Dei et suae dulcissimae Matris parte visum

A. D. 1137.
Death of Abbot Benedict of Tewkesbury.

His death fore-shown in a dream to the prior of Worcester.

¹ *expellitur*] Here, (i) H. reads: 'MCXXXVI. Dorobernensis archiepiscopus Willelmus apud villam suam defunctus Cantuarie sepelitur. Viri religionis eximiae et magnae prudentiae abbates, de Persora Wido non. Aug., de Wincelcumba Godefridus, de Teodekesbyria Benedictus abbas id. Mart., huic vitae modum fecerunt. Exemptis mundo det Summus vivere summo. MCXXXVII. Rex Anglorum Stephanus mense Martio,' &c., *vide inf.*, p. 42. (ii) G. interpolates an account of the Welsh risings of 1135-6 and of the death and burial at Gloucester of Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'Obierunt . . . congeries', but G. begins its annal of 1136 at 'Subsecutum est' *ibid.*). After this insertion G. continues: 'Dorobernensis archiepiscopus Willelmus, xv^o. patriarchatus sui anno, xii^o. kal. Dec., Cantuarie decessit. Vir magnae sed mundanae prudentiae Wido Persorensis abbas ii^o. non. Aug. obiit. MCXXXVII. Godefridus Wincelcumbensis abbas aecclisae, xvii^o. prelationis suae anno, ii^o. non. Mart., vita decessit. Sequenti ebdomada, videlicet idibus Martii, magnae religionis et castitatis vir Benedictus Theokesberiensis aecclisae abbas, xliii^o. prelationis suae anno, migravit ad Dominum. Hic Dei servus,' &c., as C.

² *priorem*] 'Warinum,' G. 'Nota de Benedicto abbate Theokesberye quomodo priori Wygornie per visum revelatum est de morte eius,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.). Both this and the following story are omitted in the editions.

A. D. 1137
(*cont.*)

oportere fieri probavit. Moratus ibidem instante necessitate illo die, crastino per Wigorniam adiit Teodekesberiam, sed Virginis Dei capellatum repperit humatum, cuius in manus Creatoris mox commendat spiritum¹.

A vision respecting the tomb of the deceased abbot seen by a monk of Tewkesbury.

De visione quam de abbate vidit quidam Michael nomine monachus sanctae Teodekesberiensis aeclesiae. Nocte dehinc iii^a. migrationis eius e seculo, cuidam Theodekesberiensi cenobitae, Michael vocabulo, quiescenti in stratu talis de illo ostensa est visio. Visum sibi est videre se in aeclesia fuisse, ante sanctum altare stetisse, orationi prolixae incubuisse. Qua finita, dum reditum ageret per claustrum, aspicit lumine repletum totum capitulum, in quo erat abbatis sepulcrum. Appropians et introspeciens, vidit plurimam virginum multitudinem circumsedentem, stolis albis amictam, ardentes lampades manibus tenentem. Et quia cultus iustitiae silentium est, non vox aliqua, nec musitatio inter illas audiebatur. Gubernatrix virginum illarum sole splendidior visa est, lucidissimam lampadem in manibus ferens, abbatis loco presidebat. Et forte maris stella fuit haec benedicta puella. Quae quia regularis disciplinae preceptra est et domina, et bene novit ordinem quo cenobitae cuilibet non licet loqui post completorium, omnino dedignabatur frangere silentium. Signum facit ad proxime sibi dextra levaeque sedentes virgines, signo mandans, ut surgentes ad sui capellani tumultum vadant, et quam reverenter ibidem se res habeat diligenter considerent. Cuius iussis obtemperantes surgunt, locum sepulchri visitant, levique motu revoluti lapide intus aspiciunt, et omnia convenienter parata conspiciunt. Recluso tumulo, amplexo mento dextera signo nuntiant omnia in summa reverentia completa de capellano suo. Sic disparuit visio, et ut credimus Imperatrix reginarum et Salvatrix animarum cum speciosis pedissequis suis summi Regis, beatissimae ac dulcissimae suae prolis, stellato se recipit solio. Godefridus abbas Wincelcumbensis aeclesiae obiit.

King Stephen goes abroad, March.

MCLX.] Rex Anglorum S., mense Martio, ante Pasca [MCXXXVII.² quod erat iii^o. idus Aprilis, mare transiens, in transmarinis partibus moratur.

¹ *spiritum*] What follows, to 'recipit solio', is found only in C. 'Nota quam revelationem ostensam cuidam monacho eiusdem loci de eodem,' C. *in marg.* (xv. cent.).

² MCXXXVII.] The repetition of the date is an error of C., similar to that above s. a. 1130, *vide* note 6, p. 31.

Rex¹ Waliae Griffinus filius Res, dolo coniugis suae circumventus, defungitur. Walenses in defensione suae nativae terrae, non solum a Normannicis divitibus, sed etiam a Flandrensibus² multa perpassi, pluribus utrinque peremptis, devictis tamen ad ultimum Flandrensibus³, non cessant in circuitu omnia vastare, villas ac castella vastando comburere, omnes resistentes sibi simul cum innocentibus et nocentibus neci tradere. Inter quos unus miles, Paganus nomine, vir, ut ferunt, strenuitatis magnae, dum predantes Walenses capere vellet et occidere, capite perforatus lancea⁴, occubuit; cuius corpus Glaornam delatum in capitulo fratrum sepelitur.

Feria vi^a, in epdomada Pentecostes, quae erat vi^o. idus Iunii,⁵ Eboraca civitas cum principali monasterio conflagravit incendio. Non diu post Hrofensis civitas igne crematur. Feria ii^a,⁶ quae erat [], Bathoniensis aecclesia et eodem mense Augusto civitas Leogera igne combustae sunt.

Ut quorundam veridico relatu agnovimus, apud Windlesoram uno dierum stante populo ad celebrationem missae, lux quedam infulserat interioribus aecclesiae. Quo attoniti, quidam foras exierunt et elevatis sursum oculis aspiciunt stellam insolitam caelo radiantem. Reversi, animadvertunt de radiis stellae lucem intus descendisse. Miraculum succedit miraculo. Quae super altare stabat vident plures crucem se moventem et nunc dextra sinistram, nunc sinistra dextram, more plangentium constringente. Hoc factum est tertio. Crucem dehinc totam tremere, defluenti sudore totam etiam sudare, fere mediae horae

A. D. 1137
(*cont.*)

Murder of
Griffyth-ap-
Rhys.

Strife between
the Welsh and
the Flemish
colonists.

Death of Payn
FitzJohn.

Fires at
York, Roches-
ter, Bath, and
Leicester.

A portent at
Windsor.

fo. 388.

¹ *Rex*] 'iisdem prope diebus,' G. *add.*

² *Flandrensibus*] 'iussu quondam regis Henrici terram Walie incolentibus,' H. *add.*

³ *Flandrensibus*] 'adiunctis sibi multis ex Anglis predonibus et exhereditatis pluribus,' G. *add.*

⁴ *lancea*] 'vi^o. idus Iulii occubuit, cuius corpus Glaornam delatum in capitulo fratrum sepelitur a Rodberto Herefordensi episcopo et abbate Walterio, Milone comite et multis aliis astantibus et lamentantibus. Factae sunt hoc anno multarum combustiones aecclesiarum, Sancti Petri Eboracensis archiepiscopatus ii^o. non. Iunii, Sanctae Mariae cum domo hospitali in eadem civitate die eodem cum aliis xxxix. aecclesiis; item, aecclesiae Sanctae Trinitatis in suburbio eiusdem civitatis modico post tempore; item, Sancti Andree Rofensis in eodem tempore cum tota civitate; item, aecclesiae Sancti Petri Bathoniensis et totius civitatis vi^o. kal. Aug. In eodem mense Augusto civitas quoque Leogera igne comburitur. Et quorundam veridico,' &c., G.

⁵ *vi^o. idus Iunii*] 'pridie nonas,' C. *in marg.*

⁶ *Feria ii^a.*] 'Feria v^a, iii^o. kal. Aug.,' H. C. has a blank space after 'erat'.

A. D. 1137
(*cont.*)

Relics discovered at Southwell.

The writer's authority for the above stories.

War between the Emperor Lothair and Roger of Sicily.

The Papal schism; Lothair supports Gregory; Roger, the anti-pope.

spatio, postmodum in priorem statum reversam. Apud Sudwaelam archiepiscopalem villam dum in sepulturam cuiusdam pararetur fossa, reliquiae quorundam sanctorum, et vitrea ampulla cum limpidissima aqua lateribus surrecta velut a fractura tuentibus eam reperta est. Qua infirmis data et gustata, sanitati pristinae restituuntur. Ut aure percepi, praecedens miraculum Wintoniensis episcopus Henricus, sequens vero narravit Eboracensis archiepiscopus Turstinus, qui cum Saeresbyriensi episcopo Rogero et quibusdam aliis episcopis et regni primoribus concilium tenuerunt apud Nordamtoniam, in plurimorum audientiam.¹

Inter Lotharium Romanorum imperatorem et Rogerium Apuliae ducem oritur bellum. Divitiis pleni, ambo hi, unus religione et dignitate superior vel excellentior, alter in confusionem sui auro prestantior. Imperialis tamen sullimitas, ut dignum et iustum est, omni regiae dignitati prestat in omnibus. Ambo Rome constituunt episcopos² episcoporum, Lotharius Gregorium canonice electum, Rogerus Petro Leoni Romanae urbis concessere papatum. Verum hac inter eos dissensione cardinalium auctoritati et prefectoriae dignitati displicente, amore pecuniae nunc Gregorium in Petri expulsionem, nunc Petrum in Gregorii exclusionem in apostolicam sedem recipiunt. Constitutus denique a Lothario, Gregorius apostolicam regit sedem. Electus a Rogero velut alter papa Lateranis sedit antiqui Petri Leonis soboles Petrus Leo, quos utrosque si stimulat dignitatis ambitio, neuter placens Deo. Quae enim fiunt in mundo Dei servantur iudicio, cuius iudicia abyssus multa. Causa tantae dissensionis in capite³ omnium per orbem aecclesiarum quamplurimis annis habitae, communi principum consilio statuitur dies, quo inter Romanos et Apulienses duellum fiat, et Deus omnipotens iudex omnium cui disposuerit victoriam tribuat. Congregato exercitu fere innumerabili, Lotharius imperator, licet in infirmitate positus,

¹ *Ut aure . . . audientiam*] G. *omit.* 'Ut aure percepi, praecedens miraculum Wintoniensis episcopus Henricus, subsequens narravit Eboracensis archipresul Turstinus, qui cum Saeresberiensis episcopo Rogero et quibusdam aliis episcopis et regni primoribus concilium tenuerant (*sic*) apud Nordhamtoniam in plurimorum audientiam.' H.; Thorpe, who misread the passage, thought it an erroneous interpolation. After 'restituuntur,' G. continues 'Fluctuabat . . . causa inter Lotharium,' &c., interpolating an account (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.*) of the Papal Schism, although John of Worcester records that event a few lines later. It has already been noticed by G., *vide sup.* note 6, p. 29.

² *episcopos*] 'predictos,' G. *add.*, to account for the foregoing interpolation in that MS.

³ *capite*] 'vel Roma,' C. *sup. lin.*

castrametatus est in Apulia. Rogerius multorum milium peditum et equitum multitudine constipatus occurrit. Pugnatum est utrinque. Deo autem sic disponente, Imperator cum suis vincens triumphat, Rogerus cum suis victus fugam iniit. Cuius regia corona, quam sibi fecerat ut rex coronaretur, auro et gemmis pretiosis redimita et regalis lancea auro prefulgida, insidiose tamen reperta, in donum acceptabile imperatoriae traditur excellentiae. Qui repatrians, non multo post regnum cum vita amisit.¹ Ludouuicus rex Francorum obiit², cui filius suus Philippus successit.³

A. D. 1137
(*cont.*)

Lothair de-
feats Roger.

The Emperor
returns home.
Death of Louis
VI of France.
King Stephen
returns to
England, and
holds court at
Dunstable,
December.

A. D. 1138.
Conrad III,
Emperor.
A Thuringian
tradition.

Mense Decembri rex Anglorum S. Angliam rediit, et in Nativitate Domini apud Dunstapolam villam quandam⁴ in Bedefordensi provincia sitam, curiam suam tenuit.

MCLXI.] Romanorum xcvi^{us}. Conradus, Dux Bawarorum, [MCXXXVIII.⁵ nepos Heinrici superioris qui habuit in imperatricem filiam regis Anglorum Heinrici regnavit annis . . .⁶

*Cf. Widukind,
Rer. Gest. Sax.
lib. 1, cc. 4-7.*

Olim temporis gens quedam ab aquilonali parte veniens, Turingiam terram incolendam penetravit. Cuius terrae incolae ut ipsius exterae terre populus expetiere, haud modicam sui incolatus portionem illi concessere. Crevit populus et multiplicatus est nimis. Longo elapso tempore, debitam Turingis abnegant deditionem. Qua de re cum armis, ut moris est eidem genti, convenitur utrinque ut debitum exigatur et persolvatur. Id sane semel et iterum sine vulnere tamen agebatur. Tertio sine armis ab utraque sub pacis foedere convenire decernunt. Exterorum plurima multitudo sentiens imbecillitatem Turingorum, et nec consilio nec fortitudine bene regi terram illorum conveniunt, statuto die conducto placito se ingerunt, in cautelam et tutelam sui longos cultros invaginato in abscondito secum gerentes. Non in pacis consensu sed in dissensione magna placitatum est. Quid multis? Turingi vincuntur, extera gens et effera triumphat. Nam longorum cultorum (*sic*) iam evaginatorum exercitio, fit in Turingos non modica sanguinis effusio. De terra

¹ *Inter Lotharium . . . amisit.*] H. *omit.*

² *obiit*] 'mense Maio,' H. *add.*

³ *Philippus successit*] 'vel Ludouuicus,' C. *sup. lin.* Here H. begins its annal of 1138.

⁴ *quandam*] G. *omit.* 'mercionalem,' H. *add.*

⁵ MCXXXVIII.] In C. corrected *in marg.* from 'MCXL,' *vide sup.* note 6, p. 31. 'MCXXXVIII,' G.

⁶ *regnabit annis . . .*] In C. and G. the years are not filled in. 'Romanorum . . . Saexonia', p. 46, H. *omit.*

A. D. 1138
(*cont.*)

et de cognatione sua Turingi propelluntur incolae in ignominia; fere tota terra illorum cedit quibus rotalis arriserat fortuna in victoria. Mutato denique nomine quae ad id temporis Turingia, ex longis cultellis sed victoriosus postmodum vocata est, non Saxonia, sed Anglico elemento Saexonia.

Stephen captures Bedford castle, whence, hearing of the irruption of the Scots, he proceeds to Northumberland. He repulses the Scots and returns. Enormities in the North; fresh invasions by the Scots.

Emensis festivis diebus Dominicae Nativitatis, rex Anglorum S., ut nominis sui coronam regaliter teneat, sicut prius Exanceastre, sic Bedfordense castellum sibi adversum cum exercitu obsedit et cepit. Audito postmodum nuntio de hostium irruptione, terrarum devastatione, villarum concrematione, castellorum et oppidorum obsessione, in manu valida Norðymbriam proficiscitur¹. Quo non diu moratus, vix ad velle suum pro quibus ierat peractis, rediit. Ferunt qui noverunt a pluribus diversae gentis hostibus fere vi^x. mensibus indicibilem factam irruptionem in Northymbria et per loca longe et prope adiacentia. Capiuntur quamplures, spoliantur, incarceration, cruciantur, viri aecclesiastici pro rebus aecclesiae neci traduntur. Numerum occisorum ex nostra vel illorum parte vix quis valet enumerare.

Death of the anti-pope.

Defuncto apostolico viro Petro Leone, successit Innocentius, ad satisfactionem venientibus cunctis qui in parte Petri contra eum tenerant,² et pacificatis in omnibus. Qui, videlicet apostolicus, die Pascali Rome consecravit in episcopum Ostiensi aecclesiae Albericum abbatem Verzellensis aecclesiae.

Wonderful occurrence at the abbey of Prüm in the diocese of Treves.

Quomodo Zabulus, in dolo malignitatis suae captus, in puerili forma monachus sit factus. Inter haec fama volarat per circumitum hoc factum miraculum: In archiepiscopatu Treverensi cenobium nobile situm est, quod Prümia dicitur, in honore Sancti Petri et Pauli dedicatum, antiquis temporibus a Pippino rege Francorum patre Karoli Magni fundatum, in qua talis rei novitas ab omnibus ibidem conversantibus accidisse refertur: Quodam mane, cum cellararius eiusdem monasterii cellam vinariam, ut vinum ad altaris sacrificium more solito daret, cum famulo suo intrasset, repperit unam de cupis, quam hesternae die plenam reliquerat, usque ad foramen obicis, qui usitato nomine spina seu pessulum dicitur, evacuatam,

¹ *proficiscitur*] Here H. terminates.

² *Defuncto . . . tenerant*] 'Defuncto sedis apostolicae invasore Petro Leone anno ix^o. invasionis suae, venerabilis papa Gregorius qui et Innocentius sanctam regens aecclesiam ad satisfactionem venientes cunctos qui in parte Petri contra eum tenerant suscepit,' G.

et vinum per totum pavementum diffusum. Qui graviter de dampno quod acciderat ingemiscens, famulum qui astabat asperrime increpavit, dicens eum preterito vespere minus diligenter obicem firmasse, ideoque dampnum huiusmodi contigisse. Et his dictis sub interminatione precepit ei ne alicui diceret quod acciderat; veritus ne si abbas hoc animo perciperet, contumeliose eum officio suo privaret. Facto autem vespere, priusquam fratres irent cubitum, cellarium intravit, obices vasorum in quibus vinum habebatur diligentissime firmavit, clausoque ostio, lectum petit. Mane autem facto, cum cellarium sicut consueverat intrasset, vidit aliam cupam usque ad meatum obicis, sicut pridie, vino defluente, vacuatam. Quo viso, cuius negligentiae dampnum hoc imputaret ignorans, graviter non sine magna ammiratione indoluit, famuloque suo ne cuiquam proderet quod acciderat denuo precipiens, priusquam vespere lectum peteret, omnes obices cuparum diligentia qua potuit muniens, tristis et anxius stratum adiit. Surgensque diluculo, aperto cellario, vidit de tertia cupa pessulum extractum et vinum usque ad foramen effusum. Unde non immerito super his quae acciderant perterritus et diutius commune dampnum silere metuens, ad abbatem festinavit, eiusque pedibus provolutus, quae viderat per ordinem intimavit; qui, habito cum fratribus consilio, iussit ut obices vasorum quae vinum habebant, advesperascente die, crismate circumlinirentur: quod et factum est. Illucescente autem die, predictus frater ex more cellarium ingressus, repperit puerulum nigrum mirandae parvitat in uno de pessulis manibus herentem; quem festine comprehendens et ad abbatem deferens, 'En,' ait, 'domine, puerulus iste quem vides, omne dampnum quod in prumptuario pertulimus, nobis intulit.' His dictis, retulit ei qualiter eundem puerulum in obice pendentem invenit. Abbas autem, eiusdem pueruli qualitatem ultra quam credi potest admiratus, accepto consilio, monachilem habitum ei parare iussit et cum scholaribus puerulis in claustrum conversari. Quo facto, puerulus idem sicut abbas iusserat scolares pueros nocte dieque comitatur, nunquam tamen cibum aut potum sumebat, nulli publice aut privatim loquebatur; aliis nocturnis aut meridianis horis quiescentibus, ipse in lecto residebat sine intermissione plorans et singultus creberrimos emittens. Inter haec, abbas quidam alterius aecclesiae orationis gratia venit ad eundem locum, aliquantis diebus ibidem detentus est: cunq̃ue scolares pueri ante eum

A. D. 1138
(*cont.*)

sepius transirent, ubi cum abbate et maioribus aeccliesiae eiusdem residebat, puerulus ille parvulus, protensis ad eum manibus, cum lacrimis respiciebat, quasi aliquid petens ab eo. Quod dum sepius ageret, abbas idem parvitatem eius ammirans, sciscitatus est assidentes sibi ut quid tam parvulum puerulum in conventu vellent habere. Qui subridentes, 'Non est,' inquirunt, 'domine, talis iste puerulus ut estimas'; et narraverunt ei dampnum quod eis intulerat et qualiter in pessulo cupae herens manibus inventus sit; seu qualiter se continuerit intrans et exiens inter eos. Quibus auditis, abbas expavit et altius ingemiscens, 'Quantotius,' ait, 'eum de monasterio expellite, ne maius dampnum vel gravissimum incurritis periculum: manifeste enim diabolus est in humana latens effigie, sed, Dei misericordia vos protegente per merita sanctorum quorum hic habentur reliquiae, non potuit vos amplius nocere.' Protinus ad imperium abbatis eiusdem aeccliesiae puerulus adductus est et cum eum monachili habitu spoliarent, inter manus eorum ut fumus evanuit.

Stephen holds
a Great Council
at Northampton, April.
Ecclesiastical
appointments.

Rex Anglorum S., in octavis Pascae quod erat *iiii*^o. idus Aprilis, tenuit concilium Norðamtonie,¹ cui presidebant Eboracensis, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones et nobiles quique per Angliam. In quo etiam concilio, quorundam electione, Exoniensi aeccliesiae, iam pastoralis cura destitutae de medio facti presulis Willelmi de Warast², archidiaconus nomine Rotbertus pontificali iure preficitur. Duae etiam datae sunt abbatiae, una Wincelcumbe cuidam Cluniacensi monacho, ut ferunt regis propinquo, nomine Rotberto, altera Eboraci cuidam monacho.³ Unus eorum, scilicet Wincelcumbensis, electus, die Pentecostes *xi*^o. kal. Iun. a venerando presule Simundo, abbas Wincelcumbensi aeccliesiae ordinatur Wigorne.

Stephen proceeds to Gloucester; thence marching to besiege Hereford.

Rex de Norðamtonia movens castra, divertit Glaornam⁴; ubi fortasse vel prius audito de castello quod contra illum obfirmabatur Herefordie, illo in expeditione maxima castrametatus est; quo perveniens, famae audita repperit verisimile. Unde in eodem loco fere *iiii*^{or}.

¹ *tenuit concilium Norðamtonie*] In C. written in over an erasure.

² *Willelmi de Warast*] William de Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, died Oct. 1, 1137.

³ *altera . . . monacho*] 'altera Sanctae Mariae Eboraci eiusdem aeccliesiae cuidam monacho,' G.

⁴ *Glaornam*] Here G. interpolates an account of Stephen's visit to Gloucester (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'cnius . . . festivitate').

vel v^o. eptomadarum spatio moratus¹, mandat per Angliam manus militum venire sibi in auxilium ad expugnandum omnes regiae dignitatis inimicos. Interim in eiusdem regis presentia, civitas Herefordensis infra pontem fluminis Waege comburitur igne. Nec multo post regis et totius curiae percutit aures Oxenafordensis civitatis dolenda cunctis combustio. Viso et cognito Herefordenses castellani in gravi multitudine exercitus regem de se triumphaturum, dextris datis et acceptis regi sese dedebant. Et quoniam ipse rex pietatis et pacis erat, immo quia est, non nociturae alicui operam dedit², sed hostes liberos abire permisit. Oppidum insuper Webbelege nominatum quod Gausfridus de Talebot contra regem tenuerat, illo iam fugam inito, cuius arte et ingenio illis in partibus sub dirumpendae pacis foedere regis adversarii sustinebantur, rex cepit, et illud et predictum Herefordense castellum instructis militibus munivit.

A.D. 1138
(*cont.*)

He is encamped there for four or five weeks and levies reinforcements.

Hereford and Oxford burnt.

The garrison of Hereford surrenders and is allowed to go free.

Stephen takes Weobley.

Geoffrey de Talbot his chief adversary.

Alberic of Ostia arrives in England as Legate,

but meets with a grudging reception.

Inter haec predictus Albericus Ostiensis episcopus, apostolica functus legatione, Angliam venit, evellere evellenda, destruere destruenda, edificare edificanda, plantare plantanda. Lectis coram rege et primoribus Angliae litteris ab apostolica sede directis, licet non in primis, pro reverentia tamen apostolicae auctoritatis, demum suscipitur. Circumiens Angliam, considerat omnia, conservat animo universa, proviso et constituendo concilio corrigenda.

Aliquandiu rex moratus Herefordie, cum suis inde secessit. Orbata regia presentia, civitas ipsa die xvii^o. kal. Iuliarum, feria v^a, ultra flumen predictum Waege a prefato Gausfrido comburuntur omnia, nullo tamen de nostris, vii^{em}. vero vel viii^o. de Walensibus, occisis. Effusionem sanguinis plurimorum de aliis supradictis dicere supersedeo, nam ignoro. Hoc tamen oro: Quisquis Christicola sub summa pace quiescat; corrigat ista legens offendit siqua Iohannes.³

Stephen leaves Hereford, which is forthwith burnt by Geoffrey de Talbot, June 15.

Rex cum regia multitudine⁴ Londonium ire perrexit.

Gausfridus autem de Talebot, regem pacis amicum deserens cum

Stephen proceeds to London.

¹ *moratus*] 'die quoque Pentecostes in ecclesia Sancte Dei genitricis Mariae coronatus,' G. *add.*

² *dediit*] 'vel dat,' C. *add. sup. lin.*

³ *ignoro* . . . *Iohannes*] G. omits and reads 'nam ignoratur numerus', thence proceeding to interpolate an account of Stephen's quarrel with the bishops (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'Exinde . . . bibit'); C. correctly records the quarrel, *s. a.* 1139.

⁴ *multitudine*] 'vel manu,' C. *add. sup. lin.*

A. D. 1138
(*cont.*)

Defection of Geoffrey de Talbot; he helps to defend Bristol against the king, but is subsequently taken prisoner by the bishop of Bath.

The bishop, frightened at the threats of the garrison of Bristol, releases Geoffrey; whereat Stephen is enraged with the bishop; but subsequently relents and dispatches a garrison to Bath.

After ravaging the lands of the Earl of Gloucester, Stephen besieges in turn Bristol, Cary and Harptree castles.

Thence he proceeds with the main army to besiege Ralph Paine in Dudley castle.

Thence to Shrewsbury castle held by William Fitz-Alan, which he captures. Fitz-Alan escapes.

suis, ad Glaocestrensis comitis filium, Brycestouense castellum contra regem tenentem, divertit, illius munimini se dedit. Qui uno dierum, velut cuilibet spatiatui operam daturus, magis autem ut post claruit Bathoniam exploraturus et postmodum invasurus, cum duobus strenuis militibus Willelmo Hoset et alio quodam, iter illo direxit. Quo cognito, *fo. 391.* Bathoniensis episcopus Rotbertus quasi de regis adversario triumphaturus, instructo milite sub quadam cautela obviam procedit. Fugientibus duobus, Gausfridus capitur, custodiae mancipatur. Hinc furore succensi Brycestouenses castellani cum domino suo comitis filio Bathoniam hostiliter adeunt, post presulem legant, et ni citius commilito suus G. reddatur, pontifici et suis suspensionis patibulum minantur. Qua de re presul, vice mercenarii sibi suisque timens, educto de custodia Gausfrido et illis reddito, voluntati illorum cedit. Quod ubi regiis auribus insonuerat, in episcopum velut in fautorem inimicorum suorum exardescit ira; quem, etiamsi magis discordiae quam paci rex ipse cederet, illum pastoralis baculo fortasse privaret. At quoniam presul coactus et invitus id egerat, rex locum dedit irae, super quam iuxta apostolicam sententiam indignum est ut sol faciat occasum. Fecit autem rex postmodum quod consilio disposuit, mittens Bathoniam multitudinem exercitus, qui presidio suo civitatem muniendo, ab hostium irruptione defenderent.

Non multo post versus Brycestowam rex movit exercitum¹, vastatisque in circumitu et igne combustis terris ac villis Glaocestrensis comitis, aliquandiu castellum obsedit. Demum pertesus diutinae obsidionis, ad alia comitis castella, Carif in Dorsetania (*sic*) et Harpetreo in Sumersetania sita, obsidenda divertit, ibidemque antecastellis extructis et manu militari munitis, discessit, et ad castellum de Duddelaeye, quod Radulfus Paine contra illum munierat, cum toto exercitu aggressum egit. Ubi quae in circumitu erant igne combustis, multiplicique preda animalium capta et abducta, ad Seropberienae castellum, quod Willelmus Alani filius adversative tenuerat, obsidendum, multitudinem militum secum in mare cepit. Praecognito autem regis adventu, idem Willelmus cum uxore et filiis et quibusdam aliis latenter fugam iniit, relictis in castello qui sibi in non reddendo illo fidelitatem iuraverant. Obsesso pluribus diebus castello, ad id expugnandum, ut ferunt qui noverunt, talis paratur machina. Con-

¹ *exercitum*] G. here interpolates an account of the atrocities of Philip Gai at Bristol (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'ubi iisdem . . . igitur').

geries non modica lignorum congeritur, adhibetur, castellina fossa iussu regis impletur. Ignis succenditur; fumus in altum se levat. Omnes infumigat et exfumigat. Regia vi porta aperitur. Decidentes vel derepentes de castello, fugam misere ineunt omnes; quos insequi et neci tradere regia mandat censura. Quinque ex eis viri nobiliores suspenduntur. Devictis hostibus, rex inde discessum egit, et versus Werham expeditionem movit. Dextris vero datis et acceptis, Radulfus Paignel cum rege pacificatur ad tempus¹.

Interea rex Scottiae David in gravi multitudine equestrium et pedestrium de vagina finium regni sui iam tertio egressus, circa terminos Norðhymbriae rura, oppida, et castella cremare et fere totam terram devastare. Sed iam hac ultima vice, cum usque Eboracum et Humbriam minaretur progressum, Eboracensis arciepiscopus Turstinus colloquium habuit cum omnibus de Eboraca provincia, fecitque omnes communi consensu et consilio iuramentum in regis fidelitate facere, ut ei resisterent. Inde autem rex Scottiae magis irritatus, a nullis dissuadentibus potuit cohiberi, sed veniens usque Teisam in die viii^o. Assumptionis Sanctae Mariae, quae feria ii^a. evenit, decrevit nostros preoccupare, quia in articulo ipsius diei maxima nebula erat. Et sic ex improvise se venturum super ipsos sperans, multas villas intactas reliquit, nec suos, sicut solebant, ipsa die aliquid ardere permisit. Nostri tamen tarde a quodam armigero premoniti, et pene preoccupati, citissime se armantes et ordinantes, sagittarios premiserunt ante primam frontem, a quibus valde Scottorum exercitus lesus est. Exinde ipsi regii barones cum militibus progressi, qui omnes de equis suis descenderant, et in prima erant acie, manus et arma cum hostibus miscuerunt, et in ipso primo puncto certaminis finem et victoriam fecerunt, cedentibus sibi Scottis et statim vel cadentibus vel cum maximo timore fugientibus. Nostri autem quia pedites erant, omnes et equos suos longius abduci fecerant, non diu eos insequi potuerunt. Alioquin et ipsum regem et filium eius et omnes qui cum eo erant, vel tenuissent vel morti dedissent. De ipsius tamen exercitu prope x^{em}. milia in diversis locis ceciderunt, et ex eius electis usque ad l^a. capti sunt. Ipse vero pro maximo timore et dedecore aufugit devictus. Cancellarius eius

A.D. 1138
(*cont.*)

The king proceeds to attack Wareham.

Truce with Ralph Paine. David, king of the Scots, invades England.

Archbishop Thurstan persuades the Yorkshire barons to repel the invader.

The Battle of the Standard, Aug. 22.

Defeat of the Scots.

¹ *tempus*] Here G. intrudes an account of the defection of Miles of Gloucester (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'Interim . . . excidium'), an event which, as rightly recorded by C., did not take place until the next year; *vide* Round, *G. de M.*, pp. 284-5.

A.D. 1138
(*cont.*)

David escapes
to Roxburghe;
his son to
Carlisle.

The Scots king
besieges Wark
castle,

but abandons
the siege.

Atmospheric
phenomena.

Ecclesiastical
appointment.

Willelmus Cumin a Dunholmensi episcopo tenebatur, sed iam a vinculis solutus gratias agit Deo, exoptans summopere ne unquam talem incidat questionem. Filius autem regis cum uno tantum milite ad Carlor pedes *fo. 392.* venit, patre ad Rokesburh per silvas et saltus vix evadente. Innumera- bilem habuit exercitum tam de Francis quam de Anglis, Scottis, et Galweiensibus et de omnibus insulis quae ad se et ad suum dominium pertinebant. De *cc^{tis}*. loricatis militibus quos habuit, non nisi *xviii^{ti}*. reportarunt loricas, quia prope omnia quae habuit¹ predam hostibus reliquit. Unde maxima spolia de exercitu eius, tam de equis et armis et vestibus, quam de plurimis rebus direpta sunt. Eustachius filius Iohannis cum eo venit, et eundem cum eo finem invenit, qui vix cum vita ad castellum suum vulneratus aufugit. Extiterant isti fortes in nomine Christi: ex Stephani parte regis bellum peragentes, Comes de Albemar, Beornardus de Bailol, et alii plures. Comes tamen ipse multum strenuus in hoc certamine fuit.² Rex Scottiae cum reversus fuisset, ut suos confortaret seque consolaretur, castellum quod prius obsederat unde a comite Mellentino fugatus fuerat, quod Werc vel Carram dicitur, et est Walterii de Spec, omnibus viribus et multis ingeniis et variis molitionibus obsedit, sed defendentibus se viriliter et obstinate castellanis, nihil omnino proficere potuit. Exilierunt enim iam sepius de castello, et ingenia eius vel succiderunt vel incenderunt, multos perimentes. Unde iam desperat capi id posse.³

Septimo die mensis Octobris, luna existente *xxviii^a*, in crepusculo noctis sextae Sabbati, versus aquilonaes partes visum est firmamentum totum rubicundum. Radii etiam diversi coloris visi sunt, mixtim apparentes et evanescentes. Erant haec forte significantia maximam quam prelibavimus sanguinis effusionem factam per Norðhymbriam et in pluribus aliis locis per Angliam.

Magnae vir religionis comitissa quidam de cella quadam Ege dicta, Willelmus nomine, iam electus, a Wigornensi presule Simone *xii^o*. kal. Dec., die dominica, abbas Persorensi ecclesiae ordinatur Wigorne.⁴

¹ *habuit*] 'quisque,' G. *add.*

² *Extiterant . . . fuit*] 'Ex parte regis Stephani in hoc certamine extiterunt strenuissimi comes de Albemar, Bernardus de Bailol, cum quibus et plures alii robustissimi, quorum nobis non occurrunt nomina,' G.

³ *Unde . . . posse*] 'Unde iam capi id posse desperans, spe sua frustratus, inde discessit,' G.

⁴ *Magnae . . . Wigorne*] G.'s account is: ' . . . Angliam. Peracta Assumptione Sancte Mariae, huiusmodi fama victoriae ad regem usque pervenit, qui tunc, capto Seresberiensis castello,

Ne igitur opus quod Arabica lingua dicitur Ezich quodque vir subtilissimae scientiae, Elkavrezmus¹ vocabulo, de cursu vii^{em}. planetarum subtilissime composuit et seriatim digessit, oblivioni tradatur, Arabici anni primus mensis ubi et qua die vel qua hora diei incepit notare disposui. Annus ab Incarnatione Domini mcxxxviii^{us}. secundum Arabes hoc anno incepit xvi^o. kal. Octob. et fuit prima dies Almuarran primi mensis Arabici, feria vi^a, hora diei vi^a, dominicali littera B. existente, annus autem Arabicorum ex quo incepit est Arabicorum dico collectorum dxxxvii^{us}, plavorum vero xxii^{us},² anno viii^o. pontificatus Innocentii papae, regni vero regis Anglorum Stephani iii^o, celebrata est synodus Lundonie in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli apud Westmonasterium mense Decembri, xiii^o. die mensis³. Cui prefuit Albericus Ostiensis episcopus predicti domni papae in Angliam et Scottiam legatus, cum episcopis diversarum provinciarum numero xviii^{im}, et abbatibus circiter xxx^{ta}, cum innumera cleri et populi multitudine.

In dominica quae extiterat xvi^o. kal. Ian. Rotbertus supranominatus consecratur episcopus Exoniensi aecclisae, et regis filius Gervasius abbas Westmonasterii ordinatur a legato. De abbatibus tres, abbas scilicet de Bello, abbas de Cruland et de Seropberia, infamati degradantur. Eximiae vir religionis, abbas Beccensis, Teodbaldus nomine, electus, die Nativitatis Domini ab eodem legato consecratur archiepiscopus Dorubernie. Supervenerat quidam Petrus nomine, et intererat synodo, apostolica deferens nuntia quae preceperant ut episcoporum et abbatum persona de Anglia Romam iret et mediante futura XL^a. illo veniret, ad statuta papalia concilia.⁴

circa urbem Bruce obsidionem in vigilia Sancti Bartholomei gaudens agebat. Ibi quoque positus, cuidam monacho de quadam cella Ege dicta Willelmo nomine, conestabularii eiusdem loci castelli germano, Persorensis aecclisae prelationem concessit; qui ad suam exinde veniens sedem a Wigornensi presule Symone xii^o. kal. Dec., die dominica, abbas Persorensis aecclisae ordinatur Wigorniae.⁵ G. then proceeds to interpolate and ante-date an account of the death of Roger of Salisbury (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'Rogerius . . . ornamentis').

¹ *Elkavrezmus*] *i. e.* Al-Khwarasmi. 'Ephemerides seu tabulae astronomicae,' C. in *marg.* (xvii. cent.). *Vide* F. Wüstenfeld in *Abhandl. König. Ges. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxii. pp. 20-2 (1877).

² *Ne igitur . . . vero xxii^{us}]* G. and editions *omit*.

³ *mensis*] 'ubi post multarum discussionem causarum promulgata sunt haec capitula et ab omnibus confirmata numero xvi,' G. *add.*, continuing after 'multitudine', 'Sunt autem haec capitula,' but not recording the canons. *Cf.* Gervase of Canterbury (*R. S.*, i. 107-9), who records the canons and is evidently copying, with G., from a common source.

⁴ *In dominica . . . concilia]* G. and editions *omit*.

A. D. 1138
(*cont.*)

Arabic
chronology.

The Legate
Alberic holds
a council at
London, Dec.
13.

Ecclesiastical
appointments.
Degradation
of the Abbots
of Battle,
Croyland, and
Shrewsbury.
Consecration
of Theobald of
Bec to the
archbishopric
of Canterbury,
Dec. 25.
Arrival of a
papal emis-
sary.

Cf. Adelard of
Bath, *Ezich
Elkavrezmi*,
trans., MS.
Bodl. Auct. F.
i. 9. fo. 159.

A.D. 1139.
Archbishop
Theobald and
other bishops
proceed to
Rome at the
Pope's com-
mand.
King Stephen
visits Wor-
cester, May;

MCLXII.] Peracta Dominicae Nativitatis solennitate¹, com- [MCXXXIX.²
muni consilio electi Teodbaldus Dorubernensis archiepiscopus, Simon
Wigornensis, Rogerus Coventrensis, Rotbertus Exoniensis, abbates (*sic*),
Reignoldus Eoveshamnensis, a papa iussi tendunt ad limina Petri. Quo
venientes ab apostolica sede magno suscipiuntur honore.

Octavis Pascae, quod erat ii^o. kal. Maii, magnificus rex Anglorum
S. regio comitatu Wigorniam veniens, totius cleri et suburbani populi
festiva admittitur processione. Oratione facta et ex more benedictione
data, ad altare rex anulum regium digito extractum offert; qui die
crastino communi consilio regiae presentiae representatur. Admirans *fo. 393.*
itaque rex Wigornensis-immo Dominici gregis humilem devotionem, ut
erat adiuratus pro amore sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae anulum recipit.

departing
thence to at-
tack Ludlow
castle.
Leaving Lud-
low invested,
he returns by
Worcester to-
wards London;

Hinc Wigornia rex abscedens, apud Ludelawe castrametatus est.
Ubi in expugnatione castelli quod contra illum erat duobus in locis
extracta munitione forti manu militum instruit. Rediens per Wigorniam,
movit expeditionem versus Londoniam. Minime parcentes execrandae
militiae, arroganti strenuitate compellente, quidam militum condixere
apud Ludelawe vires probare. In hoc opus perficiendum non modicus
exercitus militum confluere cepit: Vere erat miseriam videre, dum quis
in alium hastam vibrans lancea perforaret, et, ignorans quod iudicium
spiritus subiret, morti traderet.³

but returns
again, by way
of Worcester
to Ludlow, to
maintain dis-
cipline.
He thence
marches to
Oxford.

At rex Anglorum S. talia molientes minis territat, et Ludelawe per
Wigorniam denuo divertens, in pacis contubernio omnia sedat, et in
pacifica alacritate Oxenofordiam id est Boum Vadum petit. Quo dum
moraretur, exigente dissensionis causa, Rogerum Saeresberiensem presulem,
et nepotem eius Lincolniensem antistitem Alexandrum, Rogerum quoque
suum cancellarium, quasi regiae coronae insidiatores, cepit et custodiae

¹ *solennitate*] The two passages which G. interpolates at this point (retained in Thorpe's text, *q. v.* 'et adveniente . . . ecclesiae' and 'suscepti . . . Domino') recording the nomination and consecration of the new abbot of Gloucester, 'electum nostrum dominum Gislebertum' (*ibid.*), afford the strongest clue that that monastery was the source of the faulty continuation of Florence from which G., Gervase of Canterbury, and the compilers of the *Hist. et Cart. Mon. S. Petri Gloucest.* (*q. v. i.* 18, 19) appear to have copied. The interpolator describes the nomination of the new abbot by Stephen as 'petente conestabulario suo Milone', although he has already interpolated the constable's defection, *vide sup.* note 1, p. 51.

² MCXXXIX.] In C. corrected *in marg.* from 'MCXLI.', *vide sup.* note 6, p. 31. 'MCXXXIX.' G.

³ *erat . . . perforaret . . . subiret . . . traderet*] 'est . . . (perfor)et . . . (sub)eat . . . (trad)at,' C. *add. sup. lin.*

mancipavit. Quo cognito, Eliensis presul Nigellus, timens sibi et suis, manu militari ad Divisas fugit, ut ibi protegeretur¹. Habito postmodum consilio², statutum est ut omnia per Angliam oppida, castella, munitiones quaeque in quibus secularia solent exerceri negotia, regis et baronum suorum iuri cedant; aecclesiastici vero viri, videlicet episcopi, canes, inquam, divini, in salutem et in defensionem ovium suarum latrare non cessent, ne lupo invisibilis, malignus scilicet hostis, rapiat et dispergat oves, omnino caviant, in spirituali pugna auxilium Regi regum prebeant remunerationes illis quando post victoriam.³

Mense Octobri, comes Glaocestriae, Heinrici quondam regis Anglorum filius sed bastardus, cum sorore sua sed ex patre, dudum Romanorum imperatrice, nunc Andegavensi comitissa, cum grandi exercitu Angliam rediit, et apud Portesmuth applicuit.⁴ Cuius adventus factus est omnibus per Angliam terror immensus. Quo audito, rex Anglorum S. animo movebatur, et his qui marinos portus vigilanti cura observare debuerant indignabatur. Rex est pacis, et o utinam rex rigoris iustitiae conterens sub pedibus inimicos, et aequa lance iudicii decernens omnia, in robore fortitudinis conservans et corroborans pacis amicos.

Ubi autem novit ex-reginam apud Arundel ex-imperatricem cum grandi comitatu suo recepisse, graviter ferens, illo movit exercitum. At illa regiam maiestatem verita, et timens ne dignitatem quam per Angliam habuerat perderet, iureiurando iurat neminem inimicorum suorum per se Angliam petisse, sed, salva dignitate sua, viris auctoritatis utpote sibi quondam familiaribus hospitium annuisse⁵. Rex comitem perse-

A.D. 1139
(*cont.*)

He arrests the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln and the Chancellor Roger, on a charge of conspiracy.

Flight of the Bishop of Ely to Devizes.

Council at Oxford; statute ordering the surrender of castles.

Landing of the Empress Matilda and Earl Robert of Gloucester at Portsmouth, October.

Alarm at their arrival.

Stephen follows the Empress to Arundel. Pacified by the Queen-dowager, he withdraws to pursue the Earl.

¹ *protegeretur*] 'quorum causa scriptis superius est latius propalata, quae tamen hoc anno constat actitata,' G. *add.*, to explain its previous interpolation, *vide sup.* note 3, p. 49.

² *consilio*] 'coram primoribus Angliae,' G. *add.*

³ *in spirituali . . . victoriam*] Apparently a later insertion by the author in C; G. *omit.*

⁴ *Mense Octobri . . . applicuit*] G. reads: 'Mense vero Iulio comes Gloecestriae Rodbertus Henrici regis Anglorum filius sed bastardus, cum sorore sua sed ex patre, dudum Romanorum imperatrice nunc Andegavensium comitissa, cum grandi exercitu Angliam rediit et apud Portesmutham applicuit ante festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula kal. Aug., rege tunc Merlebergam obsidente.' Thorpe combines the conflicting dates in one sentence, an error peculiar to his edition. Mr. Round (*G. de M.*, p. 278 *seqq.*), ignoring the 'Mense Octobri', points out the consistency of the earlier date with the subsequent movements of the Empress. But he is dealing with the interpolated narrative of G. whose chronology throughout is shown to be valueless.

⁵ *annuisse*] 'Quo rex audito, illa dimissa, ex-imperatricem ad castellum Bricstowense conducere fratri suo Wintoniensi episcopo, sicut cognatam suam cum honore, precepit. Ipse vero,' G. *add.*

A. D. 1139
(*cont.*)

He abandons the pursuit.
Defection of Miles the Constable from Stephen.
King Stephen proceeds to attack Walingford castle, but abandons the siege and encamps against Malmesbury.
Alarm at Worcester at the approach of the enemy.
Preparations for impending attack.

quitur. Nil autem certi audiens de eo, quedam enim diverticula ad tempus ille petierat, expeditionem movit quo disposuit.

Milo constabularius regiae maiestati redditus fidei sacramentis, ad dominum suum comitem Glaucestresem cum grandi manu militum se contulit, illi spondens in fide auxilium contra regem exhibiturum¹.

Walingafordense castellum sibi adversum rex obsedit. Obsidionis diutinae pertesus, antecastellis extructis inde profectus, castrametatus est apud Malmesberiam. Ubi in adversarios id est in discordiae operarios eadem operatus est.

Inter haec flebile nuntium percutit aures civium Wigornensium. Crebra volat fama Wigornam civitatem ab hostibus in proximo devastandam, rebus spoliandam, igne comburendam. Talia audientes, terrentur cives Wigornenses. Quid facto opus sit, consulunt. Quo habito consilio, ad Dei summi Patris et ad beatissimae suae genitricis asyllum misericordiae confugiunt, et sub patrocinio confessorum sancti Oswaldi et beati Wlstani civitatis eiusdem presulum se et sua divinae tuitioni committunt. Videret qui afforet totam civium suppellectilem deferri in basilicam. O miseriam videre! Ecce domus Dei quae intranda erat in holocaustis, ubi immolandum erat sacrificium laudis, reddenda vota altissima, videtur inpresentiarum velut suppellectilis casa. Ecce totius episcopatus principale cenobium factum est civum (*sic*) diversorium et quoddam declamatorium. Armariorum et saccorum plurimorum pre numero, Dei servis vix locus in tali nunc diversorio. Intus psallit clerus, foris vagit infans. Vocibus psallentium resonat vox lactentium, voxque matrum lugentium. *fo. 394.* Miseria super miseriam videre. Altare principale stat ornamento spoliatum. Crux deposita. Imago Sanctissimae Dei genitricis Mariae oculis subtracta. Cortinae cum palliis, albae cum cappis, stolae cum planetis, parietum septis includuntur. In Sanctorum festivitatis ad divinum celebrandum officium desunt decus, honor, omnis solita magnificentia. A timore vel pre timore inimicorum haec disponuntur omnia, ne repente inimicus superveniens tollat cuncta quae repperit, et sic in vanitate sua prevaleat. In articulo diei incipientis brumae, hoc est

¹ *exhibiturum*] Here G. interpolates an account of atrocities committed at Bristol and of the visit of the Empress to Gloucester (retained in Thorpe's text, *q.v.* 'Iam vero . . . habentibus'). Dr. Liebermann points out that the recurrence of the expression 'Deciana sive Neroniana' in the interpolations points to their being the work of one hand, *vide* Thorpe, ii, pp. 109, 118.

vii^o. idus Novembris, feria iii^a., dum ad laudem divinam in aeclesia fuimus, et iam primam horam diei decantavimus, ecce quod plurimis ante diebus auribus hausimus, exercitus magnus valde et fortis ab austro veniens, e vagina malitiae progreditur. Urbs Glaorna armis militaribus instructa, equestri et pedestri exercitu innumerabili suffulta procedit civitatem Wigornam invasura, vastatura, igne combustura. Nos autem timentes ornamentis sanctuarii, benignissimi patroni nostri Oswaldi reliquias, albis induti, tota sonante classe cum humili processione foris extulimus, et ob hostium irruptionem de porta ad portam per cimiterium deportavimus. Adversarii conglobati, accelerando munimen quoddam fortissimum in australi parte civitatis propter castellum situm primum impugnant. Nostri fortiter resistere, et viriliter resistere¹. Hostes inde repulsi, quoniam olla succensa erant cuius facies aquilonis aquilonalis partis civitatis ingressum petunt. Nullo obstante munimine, hostium copiosissima, rabidissima et tota effrenis multitudo intrat, in diversis locis ignem edibus immittit. Proh dolor, comburitur non modica pars civitatis per loca, sed maior pars stando paret inusta. Suppellectilium diversarum in civitate, et in ruribus boum, ovium, animalium, et equorum fit maxima preda. Plurimi per vicos et plateas capiuntur, et velut in copula canum constringuntur, et miserabiliter abducuntur. Licet habeant, licet non habeant, quantum crudele os illorum censuerit in redemptionem sui iureiurando promittere et reddere compelluntur. Gesta sunt haec die qua intravit bruma, miseris dubio sine dura. Iam prediis captis, quampluribus edibus arsis, sic debachata remeant rabidissima castra, in prava cura tali nunquam reditura.

Tricesimo die mensis Novembris, comes civitatis Wigorniam venit. Combustionem civitatis ut vidit, indoluit; ad iniuriam sui, id actum fore persensit. Unde vindicare se volens, stipatus manu militum Sudlegiam adiit; audierat enim Iohannem Haroldi filium deserto rege ad Glaocestrensem comitem divertisse. Ubi quid comes egerit, si queritur, vix memoriae tradendum malum pro malo reddidit. In hominibus cum rebus eorum et animalibus predam egit et abduxit, et crastino Wigorniam rediit.

Rogerus Searesberiensis episcopus mense Decembri apud episcopalem sedem obiit, et in eadem aeclesia sepelitur. Verum quantum

A.D. 1139
(*cont.*)

The army from Gloucester arrives before Worcester, Nov. 7.

Worcester taken and sacked.

The enemy withdraw.

The Earl of Worcester arrives at the city, Nov. 30. In revenge, he captures Sudely which had revolted to the Earl of Gloucester; and returns to Worcester.

Death of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, December.

¹ *resistere*] 'ceperunt agere,' G.; 'defendere,' C. *add. sup. lin.*

A. D. 1139
(*cont.*)

King Stephen
comes to
Worcester
from Oxford.

He hears that
the enemy
have captured
Hereford;

and accord-
ingly proceeds
to Leominster.

A truce during
Advent having
been arranged,
Stephen re-
turns to
Worcester.
The new
Bishop of
Bangor does
homage to
Stephen.

Stephen pro-
ceeds from
Worcester to
Oxford;

pecuniae in auro et argento in erario eius repertum fuerit, reticendum arbitror, quia penitus ignoro.¹

Post haec rex grandi comitante exercitu de Oxenofordia Wigorniam venit, cuius de infortunio quod audierat oculis vidit et indoluit. Ubi tribus vel v^o. diebus moratus, regii constabulatus honorem Miloni Glaocestrensi suo hosti ablatum. . . .² Fama volante regiae maiestati nuntiatur inimicos iuratae quidem pacis violatores Herefordiam invasisse, monasterium Sancti Aegberti regis et martyris³ velut in castellinum munimen⁴ penetrasse. Unde rex illo movens expeditionem, apud Parvam Herefordiam vel apud Leonis Monasterium castrametatus est. Ubi quidam ex consulto regi fidelitatem iuraverunt. Quidam renuentes, hoc regi intulerunt: 'Si non iuramento, credat rex, si velit, saltem fidelibus verbis nostris.' Quoniam vero instabant solennes dies Dominici Adventus, utrinque dextris datis ad tempus, rex Wigorniam rediit. Ubi quidam clericus vir eximiae religionis, Mauricius nomine, electus a clero et a populo Pangornensi aecclesiae, comitantibus illum presulibus Rotberto Herefordensi et Sigefrido Cicestrensi, in castello regi presentatur, attestantibus illum canonice electum presulatu fore dignum. Quod et rex concessit. Persuasus a pontificibus ut regi fidelitatem faceret, respondit hoc se nullatenus posse facere. 'Vir,' inquit, 'magnae religionis apud nos est quem pro spirituali patre teneo, et predecessoris mei David archidiaconus extitit, hoc iuramentum mihi facere inhibuit.' Ad haec illi, 'Quod nos egimus, causa rationis exigit ut agas.' At ille, *fo. 395.* 'Et si vos magnae auctoritatis viri hoc egistis, nulla mora sit mihi id idem faciendi.' Iurat et ille fidelitatem regi⁵.

De Wigornia rex Oxenofordiam adiit, indeque cum curia Saeres-

¹ *Rogerus . . . ignoro*] G. and editions *omit.* 'Verum . . . ignoro,' continued into the margin, apparently a later insertion by the author.

² *ablatum . . .*] In C. the rest of the sentence is erased. 'Willelmo filio Walteri de Bello-Campo Wigornensi vice-comiti dedit,' G. *add.* and C. *in marg.* (xvii. cent.).

³ *monasterium . . . martyris*] 'monasterium principale Sancti Aelberti regis et martyris, immo Sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae,' G.

⁴ *munimen*] 'agente Gaufrido de Talabot ingressos fuisse, equosque suos in ipsa aecclesia quasi in stabulo collocasse, perque cimiterium fossa transducta fidelium corpora crudeliter effodisse. Hinc eiusdem aecclesiae pontifex venerabilis turbatur Rodbertus, turbatur et clerus universus, turbatur quoque rex,' G. *add.*

⁵ *regi*] 'Rogerius Selesberiensis episcopus ii^o. non. Dec. hoc anno vita decessit, cuius obitus anno superiori latius litteris expressus est,' G. *add., vide sup.* note 4, p. 52.

byriam, ibidem Dominicam Nativitatem celebraturus, et pro more regio coronam dignitatis portaturus. Ad quem canonici venientes, optulerunt ei ii. mille libras, quibus ille dedit omnem libertatem de omnibus geldis suarum terrarum. Insuper ad usus illorum xx^{ti}. marcas et xl^{ta}. ad cooperiendam aecclesiam. Et si pacem optinuerit, quod dederant ei, restituet.

MCLXIII.] Emensis paucis diebus Dominicae Nativitatis, rex [MCXL. cum curia Raedingum venit, ubi monet sors humana quanti pendenda sit regum purpura. Ibi, consilio suorum, duas abbatias, Malmesbyriensem et Abbedesberiensem, dum viveret Rogerus episcopus honore privatas et suo iuri deditas, propriis pastoribus investivit; viro quidem magnae probitatis Iohanni cenobitae Malmesberiensem, alteri vero Gosfrido nomine Abbedesberiensem dedit abbatiam.¹ Et ut paci satisfaceret, ad sedandum militare negotium, penitus inquam inane, ad Heli movit expeditionem; negotium sane deplorandum, quod ad militiam suam in satisfaciendo vanae gloriae frequentat militum grandis arrogantia. Conducunt, conductis assentiunt, armis se bellicis instruunt. Victor victi omnia ex avaritiae detestando conducto possideat. Et ut ita dicam, comparisonem faciens a maiore in minorem, Iuda et Ionatha fratre suo morantibus in terra Galaad, cum Iosepho et Azaria forsitan colloquendo misant: *Faciamus nobis et nos magnum nomen*, probando vires in alterum. Mucrone et lancea se inter se vulnerant, minime pensantes quid miseris occisorum animabus proveniat. In rebellionem repugnantium regi plures utrinque vulnerantur, capiuntur, custodiae mancipantur. Episcopus Heliensis videns virtutem regis et impetum exercituum eius, loco cedit, immo vice mercennarii² fugam iniit, et in partes Glaornensis pagi divertens ad comitem Rotbertum secessit. Nec mirum; iam enim quasi manus dextra sibi ceciderat, ubi suus avunculus, Searesberiensis episcopus R., morti debita solverat. Rex autem Eliense castellum optinuit, et in eo milites suos posuit.

Eboracensis archiepiscopus Turstinus³, in ordine xvi^{us}, provectae vir

A. D. 1139
(cont.)

thence to Salisbury, where he keeps Christmas.

The canons of Salisbury make him a grant.

A. D. 1140.
After Christmas King Stephen proceeds to Reading.
Ecclesiastical appointments.

Stephen marches against Ely.

The Bishop of Ely escapes to Gloucestershire and joins Earl Robert.

Stephen captures and garrisons Ely.
Retirement and death of

¹ *Viro . . . abbatiam*] 'Malmesberiensem largiendo eiusdem aecclesiae coenobitae Iohanni vocabulo, sed eodem anno xiv^o. kal. Sept. morte praepto; Abbedesberiensem vero cuidam monacho de Sancto Floscello nomine Gaufrido. Inde rex ut paci,' &c., G.

² *immo vice mercennarii*] G. omit.

³ *Turstinus*] 'in ordine xxvi^{us}. sanctarum elemosinarum sedulus executor, plurimorum

A.D. 1140
(*cont.*)

Archbishop
Thurstan,
February.

Miles of
Gloucester
sacks Winch-
combe, Jan.
31;
but is repulsed
from Sudely.

King Stephen
and the Earl
of Worcester
come to
Worcester,
whence the
King proceeds
against Little
Hereford,
while the Earl
attacks
Tewkesbury
and devastates
the lands of
Earl Robert.

The King and
the Earl return
to Worcester.

The King pro-
ceeds to
Oxford,

thence to
Winchester.

aetatis et plenus dierum, deposito vetere homine novum induit, dum postpositis rebus apud Punfreit, xii^o. kal. Feb., monachicum habitum suscepit et nonas Feb.,¹ in bona senectute vita decessit, ibidemque humatus requiescit².

Milo ex-constabularius grandi adunato exercitu, ii^o. kal. Feb., feria v^a, Wincelcumbiam invadit, maxima ex parte villam combussit, predam egit, spoliatos rebus, ob exigendam ab eis, licet iniuste, mammonam iniquitatis, secum abduxit. Suthleiam inde divertit, dumque illam invadere cupit, regii milites qui in oppido erant resistere, et illum fugere compulerunt, cesis ut fertur de militibus eius duobus, et xv^{im}. captis et in custodiam positis.

Rex et comes Wigornensis cum grandi exercitu Wigorniam venit, et evolutis aliquantis diebus, prius comes, post rex cum maxima expeditione Parvam adeunt Herefordiam . . .³ Morante itaque rege in illis partibus, comes memor iniuriarum civium suorum, in gravi multitudine armatorum Teodekesberiam invadit, magnificam domum Glaornensis comitis et omnia quae in circumitu eius erant, quorundam etiam aliorum⁴, igne combussit, miliario uno distante a Glaorna. Victus precibus domni abbatis Theodekesberiensis et fratrum, rebus illorum pepercit. Non modica preda capta, tam de hominibus et suppellectili eorum quam de animalibus, respectu mox clementi qui captivi ducebantur a vinculis soluti, ad sua redire iussit, et crastino Wigorniam rediit, contestans omnibus se in Normannia nec in Anglia tantam combustionem vix unquam peregisce.

Rex autem rediens Wigorniam ire perrexit Oxenofordiam. Supradictus Mauricius Pangornensi et Uhtredus Landaviensi aecclesiae presules a Teodbaldo archipresule Doruberniae, presentibus episcopis Herefordensi et Excecestrensi, consecrantur.

Rex Wintoniam veniens, consilio baronum suorum, cancellario suo

monasteriorum, Hagustaldensis scilicet et sanctimonialium in diocesi sua et Fontium, aliorumque circiter octo, strenuus fundator sive renovator, vir, &c., G. *add.*

¹ *nonas Feb.*] In C. corrected from 'septimoque abhinc die'.

² *requiescit*] 'anno episcopatus sui xxvii^o. Corpus vero eius post annum et menses quinque sepulturae suae integrum et odoriferum repertum est,' G. *add.*

³ *Herefordiam* . . .] In C. the rest of the sentence is erased; 'hostes suos hinc inde expugnaturi,' G. *add.* and C. *in marg.* (xvii. cent.).

⁴ *aliorum*] 'domos cum rebus suis,' G. *add.*

Philippo Searesberiensem presulatum et Henrico cuidam monacho
fo. 396. cognato suo Fescamnensem abbatiam dedit¹. Eclipsis solis dum caudam
 luna draconis occupat est facta, caput ipso luce premente.²

Consilio baronum regis Franciae Philippi et³ regis Angliae Stephani,
 factum est ut illius filius Francorum regis sororem acciperet in uxorem.
 Facta est desponsatio illorum mense Feb., in transmarinis partibus,
 matre regina Anglorum presente, et quampluribus viris nobilissimis ex
 utriusque partibus regni parte coram positis.

Miles quidam nomine Rotbertus, cuiusdam nobilis viri Huberti
 filius. Hic nec Deum nec homines veritus, sed totus in suis viribus
 confisus, Malmesberiense castellum cum suis doli machinamentis invasit,
 regis militibus qui intus erant quibusdam in ecclesiam sancti presulis
 Aldelmi velut in asylum fugientibus. Quos insecutus, quadam die cum
 suis armis militaribus constructis capitulum fratrum intravit. Minis eos
 territans, salva tuitione facultatum suarum regiae dignitatis viros cum
 equis tradi sibi mandavit. At illi pacem Dei et beati patroni sui
 A. infringere veriti, iussis huiusmodi consentire renuunt. At demum
 licet inviti quo vesaniae illius satisfaciant, reddunt equos.

Diutius illo in castello morante, iam vastatis omnibus in circumitu,
 rex cum exercitu supervenit, et fere viii^o. diebus castellum obsedit.
 Willelm. d'Ipre, ut fertur consanguineus ipsius Rotberti, ad reddendum
 castellum utrinque internuntius fuit; idque tandem a rege optinuit, ut
 dextris datis et castello reddito, regio iuri omnia cedant. Quod et
 factum est.

Rotbertus vero ad comitem Glaocestrensem divertit, penes illum ad
 tempus in doli veneno moraturus. Non multo post, quia nullatenus
 voluit intelligere ut bene ageret, sed ut sanguine sanguinem tangeret,
 ignorante comite, cum suis ad Divisas se contulit. Ubi, vel prius, iam
 facta conventionem⁴ inter se et suos si castellum optineret, nemini unquam
 tradendum. Dolo malignitatis murum ascendit, regiis militibus qui

A. D. 1140
 (cont.)

Ecclesiastical
 appointments.
 Eclipse of the
 sun.

Betrothal of
 Stephen's son
 with the sister
 of the King of
 France, Feb-
 ruary.

Robert Fitz-
 Hubert cap-
 tures Malmes-
 bury castle.

King Stephen
 lays siege to
 the castle.

The castle is
 surrendered to
 Stephen, and
 terms ar-
 ranged.

Fitz-Hubert
 joins the Earl
 of Gloucester,
 with treacher-
 ous designs;
 but subse-
 quently leaves
 him and cap-
 tures Devizes
 castle.

¹ *dedit*] 'Sed Philippus a legato et clero non recipitur, unde inde assumptus, Baiocensi ecclesiae post aliquantum tempus preficitur,' G. *add.*

² *Eclipsis* . . . *premente*] 'Eclipsis solis facta est xi^o. kal. Aprilis, feria ii^a., circa horam diei tertiam,' G.

³ *Philippi, et*] 'petitione,' G. *add.*

⁴ *conventionem*] 'vel pactione,' C. *add.*

A. D. 1140
(*cont.*)

intus erant signum dedit sic proclamans . . .¹ Ex improvise, exteriora castella penetrat, in plures tyrannidem exercet. Quarta dehinc die, vi et calliditate malitiosa turrim interiorem possidendam invadit; et singulis diebus ac noctibus, in extollentia cordis ubiubi omnia devastat, et mala quae poterat agere non cessat.

Fitz-Hubert makes overtures to John Fitz-Gilbert, but is captured by the latter and imprisoned at Marlborough.

Tandem² ad Iohannem, illustris militiae virum, qui tunc in regis fidelitate Maellesberiense castellum observabat, divertens, ut suo consilio, immo insilio, consentiat et secum teneat, et non solum regi sed etiam comiti et quibuscunque poterat, in Satan fiat, minando postulat. Si nollet, sciret se ex improvise capite plectendum. O hominem dementem, velut in multitudine divitiarum suarum sperantem, et in vanitate sua prevalentem. At in abundantia virtutis suae non salvabitur.³ Respondit Iohannes, 'In virtute Dei quenlibet malo capere, quam ab aliquo capi.' Dixit et mox illum captum in custodiam posuit, vicemque pro vice reddens, omnia tormentorum genera quae in crudelitate sua prius aliis intulerat, in illum expendi fecit.

Fitz-Hubert is temporarily delivered up to the Earl of Gloucester,

to whom he agrees, under threats, to surrender Devizes castle.

Fitz-Hubert is led back to Fitz-Gilbert,

His omnibus auditis, comes Glaornensis et Milo ex-constabularius cum pluribus ad predictum Iohannem veniunt. Cui ipse comes D. marcas se daturum spopondit, eo pacto ut sibi Rotbertum ad statutum diem prestaret, ipseque sibi bonos obsides daret. Iohannes placatus pecunia promissas (*sic*) et obsidibus, tradidit illi R. eo tenore, ut infra xv^{im}. dies sibi redderetur. Hac conventionem facta, comes revertitur Glaorniam, ducens secum R. Conseritur sermo de reddendo castello apud Divisas, quod spontaneo velle sibi tradi postulat. Abnegat Rotbertus ne iuramentum quod cum suis iuraverat in non reddendo scilicet castello infringeret. At ubi minis territus in patibuli suspensione, spondet se cessurum petitis, dummodo periculum evadat mortis. Infra statutum diem conventionis, ille malignus R. ad prefati Iohannis reducitur presentiam, cui nuntiat comes omnia quae gesta sunt, quomodo minis territus R. promiserat se redditurum castellum. Rogat etiam denuo R.

¹ *proclamans* . . .] In C. the following word is erased; 'signum dedit victoriae. Hinc exteriora,' &c., G.

² *Tandem*] In C. corrected from 'Non'. Dr. Liebermann points out that the numerous contemporary erasures and insertions in C. show that the author made a final recension of its text after other copies had been divulged; *vide, inter alia*, note 2, p. 58, note 3, p. 60, and note 1, above, where G. presumably supplies the original readings.

³ *O hominem* . . . *salvabitur*] G. and editions omit. 'Invectio in Rotbertum,' C. in *marg.*

ad Divisas secum ire permittat, eo pacto, ut si fortassis optinuerit castellum, iuri Iohannis sub eo subigatur. Annuit Iohannes precibus comitis, qui protinus cum R. redit ad Divisas. Interim idem Iohannes, missis litteris ad eos qui extra vel qui infra castellum erant, iureiurando iuravit nec se nec comitem aliquid malefacturos Rotberto; hoc dumtaxat agant, ut iuramentum in non tradendo alicui castello firmiter teneant. Relictis ex-constabulario et quodam potenti viro Hunfrido et quibusdam aliis, comes Glaorniam revertitur, mandans omnibus ut si Rotbertus renueret sponte reddere castellum, suspenderetur¹.

A.D. 1140
(*cont.*)

and allowed
to accompany
Earl Robert to
Devezes.

¹ *suspenderetur*] The last word of the last existing folio in C.; 'Reliqua supplere licet ex impressis pag. 675, lin. 34,' C. *in marg.* (xvii. cent.). Notes relating to the succession of bishops at Worcester are added on the fly-leaf by the fifteenth-century annotator. Henceforth to 'crudeliter', *s.a.* 1141, G., with its Cottonian transcript and Harleian translation, remains the sole authority. The interpolator's hand is still traceable, *e.g.* in the account of Stephen's capture at Lincoln, where his Angevin sympathies elicit the comment 'iusto Dei iudicio', *vide* Thorpe, ii, p. 129; John of Worcester has throughout favoured the king's cause, for which reason also the paragraph 'Et quia . . . praemio', *ibid.*, pp. 132-3, 'sicut ex ipsius Milonis ore audivimus,' is not likely to be from his pen.

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- Stephen of Blois, king of England, swears fealty to Matilda at the Great Council (1128), 27; promised to abolish Dane-geld, 34; succeeds to the throne, 39; holds court at London, 39-40; besieges Exeter, 41; goes abroad, 42; returns to England and holds court at Dunstable, 45; captures Bedford castle, *ibid.*; repulses the Scots from Northumberland, *ibid.*; holds a Great Council at Northampton, 48; proceeds to Gloucester, *ibid.*; besieges Hereford, 48-9; captures Weobley, 49; proceeds to London, *ibid.*; is crowned at Hereford, *ibid.* note; his anger with the bishop of Bath, 50; besieges Bristol, *ibid.*, 53 note; marches against Dudley, 50; takes Shrewsbury castle, 50-1; attacks Wareham, 51; captures Salisbury castle, 53 note; visits Worcester, 54; at Ludlow and Oxford, *ibid.*; his quarrel with the bishops, 54-5; besieges Marlborough castle, 55 note; his dealings with Matilda and the earl of Gloucester, 55-6; besieges Wallingford and Malmesbury castles, 56; at Worcester, Hereford, and Oxford, 58; at Salisbury and Reading, 59; marches against Ely, *ibid.*; at Worcester, Hereford, Oxford, and Winchester, 60; his son betrothed to Constance of France, 61; captures Malmesbury castle, *ibid.*
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